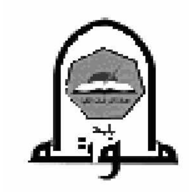


**Mu'tah University**

**Deanship of the Graduate Studies**

# Persuasion in the Speeches of His Majesty King Abdullah II of Jordan

**By**

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**A Thesis Submitted to the Deanship of Graduate Studies in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master in Applied Linguistics- Department of English**

**Mu'tah University, 2008**

**الآراء الواردة في الرسالة الجامعية لا تُعبر**
**بالضرورة عن وجهة نظر جامعة مؤتة**

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم



MUTAH UNIVERSITY
Deanship of Graduate Studies

جامعة مؤتة
عمادة الدراسات العليا

*نموذج رقم (14)*

# قرار إجازة رسالة جامعية

تقرر إجازة الرسالة المقدمة من الطالب جمال فرحان الصرايرة الموسومة بـــ:

**Persuasion in the Speeches of His Majesty King Abdullah II of Jordan**

استكمالاً لمتطلبات الحصول على درجة الماجستير في **اللغويات التطبيقية.**

**القسم: اللغة الإنجليزية.**

| | التوقيع | التاريخ | |
|---|---|---|---|
| د. ليلى محمد العمري | | 2008/08/13 | مشرفاً ورئيسا |
| د. أحمد حمد مقبل | | 2008/08/13 | عضواً |
| د. محمد ارشيد الخوالدة | | 2008/08/13 | عضواً |
| د. بشار شاهر الرشدان | | 2008/08/13 | عضواً |



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## Dedication

I dedicate this work to the soul of my late mother, my father, my wife, my brothers and my sisters for helping me in my efforts to have this job completed.

**Jamal Farahan Al-Sarayrah**

## Acknowledgments

I wish to thank Dr. Laila El-Omari, the thesis supervisor, for her efforts, continuous assistance, precious suggestions, and remarks on earlier drafts of this study.

My deepest gratitude and appreciation are extended to the Media Department, at the Hashemite Royal Court especially to his Excellency Mr. Amjad Al- Adadhylah for his great assist in supplying the researcher with the authentic speeches in hard copies and his kind suggestions to make this study successful.

My special thanks are expressed to all the professors who taught me during my study of the M.A. courses. I am in great debt to the Dean of Graduate studies, Professor Hosam Mobaidin for his efforts, insightful instructions, and help which I will never forget.

Thanks and appreciation are expressed all who helped me in completing this study.

**Jamal Farahan Al-Sarayarah**

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**Abstract**

**Persuasion in the speeches of His Majesty King Abdullah II.**
**By Jamal Farahan Al –Sarayrah**
**Mu'tah University, 2008**

The present study is about persuasion which is the outcome of rhetoric. Persuasion as a dominant phenomenon in speech in general can be identified through the study of the three of its components, namely, ethos, pathos and logos. Ethos refers to the speaker's character, position, status and credibility, expressed in speech. Pathos on the other side refers to the audience's emotions, in the way they are provoked by the speaker to act in the direction of the aimed goal of the speech or the orator. The last component of persuasion is its logos, or what is called the logic of the speaker's argument, expressed by the speaker in words, and how the speaker presents his argument in a way that convinces his audience to take a certain demanded action; an action that is demanded by the speaker.

For the purpose of this study, the speeches of his majesty King Abdullah II of Jordan comprised the academic ground for applying rhetoric theory. In particular those parts related to persuasion mentioned above, ethos, pathos and logos are discussed, to support the assumption that this phenomenon of persuasion is dominant in the speeches of his majesty King Abdullah II. These speeches were collected from the media department of the Hashemite Royal Court, and then classified into two levels, international and national.

This study consists of three chapters. The first chapter reviews the rhetorical background in view of which the analysis was done. The second chapter reviewed related literature from both the Arabic and The English languages. Chapter three explained the methodology and analysis of persuasion elements in the speeches. The last part in chapter three summarizes the results and gives recommendations.

The study focused that persuasion with its three aspects (ethos, pathos and logos) is a dominant feature in the speeches of his majesty King Abdullah II.

The study recommends that further and more thorough investigation should be done to cover other linguistic aspects in the speeches.

## الملخص

## الإقناع في خطابات جلالة الملك عبد الله الثاني.

**جمال فرحان الصرايره**

**جامعة مؤتة، 2008**

الدراسة الحالية هي عن الإقناع، والذي يعتبر نتاج البلاغة. بالامكان دراسة الإقناع كظاهرة عامة في الخطاب بشكل عام من خلال دراسة ثلاثة مكونات رئيسية هي شخصية ومكانة وأخلاقيات ومصداقية المتكلم والتي يعبر عنها في خطابه ويشار إلى هذه المكونات لشخصية المتكلم باللغة الإنجليزية بكلمة (Ethos). المكون الثاني لعملية الإقناع هو ما يعرف بكلمة (pathos) أي كل ما يشير إلى مشاعر المستمعين مشارا إليه في الخطاب من قبل المتكلم بهدف توجيههم إلى الهدف المنشود. المكون الثالث للإقناع هو ما يعرف بكلمة (logos) وهو منطق أو حجة المتكلم في الخطاب. أي الكيفية التي يعبر المتحدث أو ملقي الخطاب بالكلمات عن حجته أو برهانه لما يقول لكي يقنع مستمعيه أو المتلقين للخطاب

لتحقيق أهداف هذه الدراسة فان خطابات جلالة الملك عبدا لله الثاني سوف تعتبر الأساس الأكاديمي لتطبيق نظرية البلاغة و بشكل خاص تلك الأجزاء المتعلقة بالإقناع التي تم ذكرها أعلاه وهي (ethos, pathos, logos) لأجل إثبات ما تفترضه هذه الدراسة وهو : إن الإقناع هو الصبغة الظاهرة في خطابات جلالة الملك عبد الله الثاني.تم جمع الخطابات من الدائرة الإعلامية في الديوان الملكي الأردني ، ثم تم تصنيف الخطابات إلى مستويين، وطني وعالمي.

تتألف هذه الدراسة من ثلاثة فصول. الفصل الأول ويشمل فرضيات الدراسة والخلفية البلاغية والذي على أساسه تمت عملية التحليل . الفصل الثاني ويشمل الأدب السابق المتعلق بدراسة الإقناع في اللغة الإنجليزية والعربية . الفصل الثالث يشرح طريقة البحث ويقدم التحليل للأمثلة المتعلقة بالإقناع في الخطابات و يلخص النتائج ويعطي التوصيات.

ركزت الدراسة على أن الإقناع بمكوناته الثلاثة المذكورة أعلاه هي صــبغة ظاهرة في خطابات جلالةالملك عبدا لله الثاني . توصي الدراسة بإجراء بحث اشمل و أعمق، لكي يوضح المناحي اللغوية الأخرى في الخطابات.

# Chapter One
# Persuasion in the Speeches of His Majesty King Abdullah II

**By Jamal Farahan Al- Sarayrah**

## 1.1: Introduction

The national as well as the international acceptance and the world-wide recognition of the speech delivered by his majesty King Abdullah II of Jordan during the joint session of the two houses of the American Congress on 7th March 2007was exceptional. The audiences were native speakers of the language being used to get the ideas across to the American congress and people. It is not an easy task. Since our focus in this study is on how to use the language to persuade audiences, it is worth mentioning that the person who addressed that exceptional audience is first of all a prominent Arab leader whose reputation is known to the whole of the world, and, second, a natural bilingual of both English and Arabic due to his birth and education, which made it easier and smoother for the audience to understand him perfectly and prompted them to stand up three times during the speech clapping for his majesty's intelligent remarks. Now, the question is: what does that mean from a rhetorical perspective? It means that persuasion is taking place in the minds of the audience, and that the presence and the words of his majesty reached the open ears and clear minds of the American congressmen attending that session, and that is what is important for us in this study.

These observations, which I recorded carefully, raised some important questions for me as a researcher. What made the American congress react in that way? Was it the character of his majesty King Abdullah II of Jordan? Was it something in the speech? Or, was it something in their minds and souls, which his majesty touched very strongly? Is this the only speech that seemed persuasive? Or does this aspect of persuasion appear/work in all the speeches of his majesty King Abdullah II? These questions kept me busy thinking of the best possible answer. The international reputation of his majesty King Abdullah II as a leader is known to all of the western countries because of his efforts to make his country a better one, and to help the other countries in the Arab world that lack stability and peace to feel secure and stable. He has always demonstrated keen interest in national and international affairs. His majesty’s efforts seek to transform the region and the whole world into a peaceful place to live in. All of this gave me the core points for the present study.

Any kind of discourse whether written or spoken can be regarded as a form of a text. Now, taking into consideration this idea leads us to join the two pieces together, I mean here discourse and text, to represent public speaking as one form of communication. Text according to Dressler (1981) is defined as the communicative occurrence that meets seven standards of textuality which are cohesion, coherence, intentionality, acceptability, informativity, situationality, and intertextuality. These standards function as constitutive principles of textual communication. They define and create the form of behavior identifiable as textual communication. This means that the audience or the reader of that text or discourse will be able to analyze and better understand the speaker, his feelings, aims, and ideas. Dressler mentioned that there must also be regulative principles that control textual communication rather than define it. Of these principles, he mentioned that the efficiency of the text depends on its use in communicating within a minimal expenditure of efforts by participants. The other principle is that the effectiveness of a text depends on its leaving a strong impression and creating favorable conditions for attaining a goal. Appropriateness of a text is the agreement between its setting and the ways in which the standards of textuality are upheld.

Having these standards of textuality in mind, I did not find any better theory to answer the above questions than the classical theory of rhetoric (or the art of public speech), which is based on three main aspects: ethos, pathos and logos. Lane cooper (1932) mentioned that it was Aristotle who was the first to systematically organize ideas concerning the analysis of persuasion. Three aspects of persuasion were of major concern to him: pathos, logos, and ethos. The first was related in the main to the audience (pathos), the second to the material included in the speech (logos), and the third referred to the persuasive powers of the speaker (ethos).

1. Pathos: the attempt to affect the emotions of the audience.
2. Ethos: the persuasive powers of the speaker’s status and his character.
3. Logos: the material/evidence included to convince, or the main argument in the speech.

These three aspects together form what is known to every language student as persuasion. From this point onward, the focus will be on these aspects of rhetoric, though language can be studied from different angles; for example, it can be studied from a political point of view, but the focus will not be on academic matters but on political issues. There have been several studies by writers who studied language from a political view such as Mmby & Spitzak (1983), Hart (1984), O'Leary& McFarland (1989), Ryfe (2005), and Hoffman (2005). They were concerned with the

kind of language used between politicians such as diplomatic words which are especially used in the arena of politics.

Studying texts and/or speeches from a linguistic point of view means studying the structures of the language and how language is used to approach the intended goal, may that be to enable your audience to understand you better or to convince them of your point of view. And that is up to the speaker to decide according to his own interests. Van Dijk, (1994) referred to the focus of political science as approaching the language used in the speech politically, and referred to discourse analysis as the study of the language following related theories, such as speech Act theory with its maxims and other details. On the other hand, Van Dijk (1994) mentioned that the study of language from a discourse perspective would not offer much to political science. He distinguished between political language and discourse in addition to conversation analysis and mentioned that these approaches (discourse and conversation analysis) have not offered much to political sciences. I agree with him because each part of study (in the different fields of knowledge) deals with language from a different scientific framework; it is not for me to state these frameworks—even though I am dealing with political speeches—in this study because the main focus is going to be on persuasion from a rhetorical perspective.

Von, Ruville (1907) mentioned another perspective regarding political speech when he asserted that a political speech is something more than a mere piece of rhetoric on a special occasion. He adds that it must always keep the object of exciting other persons to political action, and to make others subserve the speaker's own ideas by means of the power others possess. This means that the aim behind any speech is to convince the audience being addressed to change a point of view or to adapt certain ideas presented in the speech's argument, which leads us to the other part of the speech which is the audience who must be taken into consideration by any orator. This means that the level of the audience should be acknowledged, and the focus will be on answering some questions related to this point such as: what cultural aspects do they share? What are their levels of knowledge? Are they well educated or not? Are they all native speakers of the same language used in the speech? These questions if taken into account by the orator will make his speech more persuasive.

In linguistics literature, the phrase 'political language' (see for example Edelman (1967), Fisher (1981), Campell & Jamieson (1986), Graham (1989), Beasley (2001), and Broone (2002)) has been used either to denote the use of language in the context of politics, i.e., specific language use with the purpose of achieving specific politically motivated function, or it has been used to denote the specific political

vocabulary, words and phrases that refer to extra linguistic phenomena in the domain of politics. From the point of view of language use, we can differentiate between national and international political communication, based on the setting and the communicative partners involved. Internal political communication would refer to all forms of discourse that concern the functioning of politics within political institutions, i.e. governmental bodies, parties or other organizations.

Persuasion is the heart of oratory (the art of public speaking). Orators, according to Cicero (3rd BC), are two classes. The first is good orators, distinguished by the simple neatness and brevity of their language. The second class is distinguished by their plentiful dignity and elevation; this second class, according to Cicero, refers to those orators who praise themselves in front of others in order to make others look at them as especial and extraordinary persons, giving themselves a high position they do not have or deserve. The first type of orators referred to be Cicero is preferred because they represent the honest traits the orator should be described with, i.e., the use of neatness and brevity of language. J. S Watson. (1970. p.23-28)

Giles Wilkenson (1950) pointed to the persuasive speaking ability as oral communication ability. He mentioned that" although in most of its external manifestations speech appears as a patently social activity, involved in the establishment and maintenance of relations among human beings, it has profound psychological implications and response". From this statement we understand that persuasive speaking involves the ability to keep community as a whole together and strengthen the different ties between its members, and it also aids the interaction between human beings to remain easier and smoother.

Cegala (1987) mentioned that one of the communicative political functions of any speech either written or spoken is to persuade the person you are addressing if you want him to do what you want. Persuasion is the intended communication that affects how others think, feel, and/or act toward some object, person, group or idea. Through this we can say that persuasion is an important medium in which things can be done easily in our everyday life if it is employed effectively.

Other scholars such as Bettinghaus & Cody (1994) defined persuasion as a conscious attempt by one individual or group to change the attitudes, beliefs, or behavior of other individuals through the transmission of some message. Language can be used to tell the truth honestly. Yet it can also be used to persuade people to take a particular stance they never considered to be right before being addressed by the speaker. According to cook (2003), language manipulates our feelings and thought in ways which we are willing, or eager to accept. Other uses of language are less benign or caring, seeking to control and influence

our ideas in the service of some invested political or commercial interests.

Lakoff (1982) points out that one can attempt a definition of persuasive discourse as a type of discourse that causes persuasion to happen in the minds of the listener. My interpretation of Lakoff's definition is that the orator, if he wants his words to be effective and persuasive, then he has to use simple and easy words that touch the hearts and minds of his audience, consequently persuasion will take place. Discourse, then, is to be considered persuasive only in cases it is nonreciprocal, and the intent to persuade is recognized explicitly as such by at least one party of the discourse. By persuasion, Lakoff (1982) meant the attempt or intention of one participant to change the behavior, feelings, intentions or viewpoints of another by communicative means.

From all the above mentioned ideas and definitions, one can deduce that persuasion does mean a change in thoughts, in stands, or in attitudes, and it is looked at from different approaches. Persuasion can be useful to the orator, because it will help him to achieve many things through speaking persuasively and that is done merely through the clever use of the power of the three aspects of persuasion defined by Aristotle as ethos, pathos and logos. How are these aspects of persuasion, which are the core and essence of rhetoric theory, implemented in the speeches of His Majesty King Abdullah II? This is the main question to be explored through the use of rhetoric theory, which seems to be the suitable technique to use in a study like this one since it deals with the different elements of the communicative situation: the speaker, the speech, the audience, and the situation in which the speech is given.

### 1.2. Statement of the problem

The speeches of his majesty King Abdullah II form a vivid ground on the persuasive aspect, specially the speech delivered on the 7th of March 2007, which deals with the present situation in the Middle East. In that speech, he addressed the two houses of the American Congress and expressed his points of view regarding the present situations in the region. We all saw how the two houses of representatives stood up nearly three times clapping for his majesty—an indicator that the speech was fully persuasive.

As a researcher and as an attentive listener to all the national and international speeches of his majesty King Abdullah II since 1999, I have noticed that persuasion is the dominant feature of all types of his speeches whether political, economic or social. Unfortunately, and as far as I know, there is no linguistic study that sheds light on the different aspects of the speeches of his majesty King Abdullah II in general, and

on the persuasion aspects implemented in them, in particular. In other words, the written text of such speeches are neither explored nor investigated linguistically.

**1.3. Purpose of the study.**

The national as well as the international reputation of his majesty King Abdullah II is clear to the entire world; that is clear in the way the speeches of his Majesty are received. For this reason I find it a must for me as a researcher and as a Jordanian to explore and study these interesting speeches for the following purposes:

1. To explore and shed light on the different aspects of persuasion employed in the speeches of his majesty and to make clear how these aspects work.
2. To provide a kind of reference for further similar studies in the future.
3. To find out how the written texts of the speeches of his majesty king Abdullah II follow the method of persuasion in rhetoric theory.

**1.4. Importance of the study**

The speeches of his majesty King Abdullah II are of vital importance to every Jordanian citizen, especially to those in academic disciplines—in particular those working in the fields of politics and linguistics. Politicians can learn from the speeches of his majesty King Abdullah II the way he handles national as well as international affairs concerning different matters. For linguists, it is a matter of language in use; how it is implemented to serve different functions of speech, and how the persuasive aspects from a rhetorical point of view strengthen the chances to affect the addressed audiences. It is, therefore, important to study these speeches to see how much persuasion is a value that contributes to achieving the goals and objectives of these speeches. The present study is concerned with this aspect from a rhetorical—not political—perspective.

**1.5. Hypotheses of the study**

The study hypothesizes the following:

1. The speeches of his majesty King Abdullah II have their own aspects regarding the three elements of persuasion: ethos, pathos, and logos.
2. The speeches of his majesty King Abdullah II can be used as an academic ground for implementing a wide range of linguistic/rhetorical studies in semantics, discourse analysis, speech act theory, text linguistics and syntax. Each of these fields provides theories that follow certain rout in analysis and discussion, which is not the aim of the present study.

3. The words and phrases used in the written texts of the speeches of his majesty King Abdullah II indicate the presence of persuasion elements in that it was easy for the researcher to relate them to rhetoric theory.

**1.6: Methodology**

The first step to achieve the purpose of this study was to collect the speeches from the original source which is The Hashemite Royal Court's Media department because it is inappropriate academically to copy and then paste the speeches for analysis without legal authorization. For this purpose, the researcher, through the university legal channels, gladly made the appropriate contacts with The Hashemite Royal Court's Media Department in order to facilitate the needed mission. The court made available for this study the original copies of the international speeches in English and the national speeches in Arabic with their translation in English.

The selection of the speeches to be undertaken into analysis followed some certain criteria. The first was the international reputation of his majesty King Abdullah II. The second was that each of the speeches represented a very important situation. The reason behind this choice of the four speeches was to see how his majesty King Abdullah II addresses the audiences and how he expressed his arguments on both the international level and the national level.

For example, I chose the speech delivered in the American congress, a speech which was considered a historical one, dealing with hot issues in the Middle East. The other international speech was the speech delivered in the house of the British Parliament, addressing the British Lords about the situations in Iraq, and that speech gained high reputation both nationally and internationally. The other two speeches to be analyzed are national ones. The first was when his majesty King Abdullah II addressed the Islamic scientists and scholars in 2005 in Amman and explained to them the importance of clarifying the true picture of our religion Islam in the minds of the West as well as the East, and that we are all brothers under the umbrella of Islam; no one party has the right to misjudge the other on the basis of beliefs; we all testify that Allah is our only Lord and that Muhammad (peace be upon him) is Allah's prophet to all mankind. The final speech, 2006, Amman, was the one delivered to the whole of the nation after the brutal attacks on the peaceful capital Amman by a group of terrorists.

The categorization in my opinion is essential for this study. For me it will form a kind of reference to go back to when needed; for this reason I have these speeches appended in this study, on the other hand it will give the reader an idea about the vast data that I am dealing with. I

mean there are sixty nine speeches on both levels, and it is really hard to deal with all the speeches in one single study; so I included the date, occasion, level and place of every speech in order to make it easy for both the readers and future researchers to look into these speeches from a linguistic perspective.

Once the speeches have been collected, rhetorical analysis was applied using the three aspects of persuasion mentioned earlier (ethos, pathos and logos). For the purpose of making the claim stronger, I chose four speeches (two national and two international) for the analysis in order to discuss them according to the principles of rhetoric theory specifically the parts related to persuasion which is the aim of this research. Persuasion, indeed, forms the essence and the main reason for rhetoric to be effective and important for the orator and for the reader/ listener. For the orator, he will be able to achieve his goal in getting things done the way he wants them to be done, or things to be thought of the way he thinks is the right one. The reader/listener could see things from different perspectives and will be able to easily determine the best for his interest to follow, believe, or feel when reading or hearing a speech.

Throughout the analysis of the chosen speeches I meant to make it evident and easier to the reader to follow the route of the study in a straightforward way; what is going to be done basically is to reveal the core points or what could be named the fundamentals. What I mean by this is providing examples or illustrations of the persuasive style from the speech related to the present study, and relate these examples to each aspect of persuasion mentioned previously in chapter two. Next, parts from the speech under analysis will be presented as a proof of the aspect being investigated; in addition discussion of the quotes from speech will be presented.

The discussion of each quoted text from the speeches will be given after presenting of the quotes according to the aspects of rhetoric theory in order to give a background to the reader and that, in my opinion, will certainly increase the focus and the aim of the research.

## Chapter Two
## Review of literature

This study is about persuasion, which is an important aspect of rhetoric, in the speeches of his majesty King Abdullah II of Jordan. The speeches to be chosen for the purpose of the study, some in Arabic and some in English, will be investigated thoroughly using the theory of rhetoric in order to find the answer for the study hypotheses represented in the following question: To what extent is persuasion as an aspect of rhetoric found in the speeches of his majesty King Abdullah II of Jordan? The answer of this question demands certain steps to be taken: first it is a must to review some of the literature related to the study form both English and Arabic sources. Second the rhetorical traditions—Western and Arabic—will be compared and contrasted to find points of similarities and differences with regard to persuasion. Rhetoric theory is the best to be used to illustrate the persuasive ability of the orator.

Let me begin by defining what is meant by the word ‘Rhetoric’. Cooper (1932.p85), in his book titled ‘The Rhetoric of Aristotle’, mentioned that Aristotle defined rhetoric as “the faculty of discovering in the particular case what are the available means of persuasion”; by this the writer means that the persuasive use of language and its power is in the hands of the orator (the speaker) who needs to be eloquent and capable of delivering the desired message to the audience in the most persuasive way. This is to be judged by applying the three aspects of persuasion: ethos, pathos and logos, which suit the aims the orator intends to achieve by delivering the speech. Rhetoric deals with opinions, with our best educated guesses about what is true, not with absolute certainty. In other words, in the realm of persuasion lies everything in our world, without the kind of absolute certainty that many suppose science can give. Aristotle’s definition makes it clear that the importance of his theory of rhetoric concerns “the available means of persuasion” or the techniques by which persuasion may be accomplished.

In the oldest systematic textbook on persuasion, Rhetoric (p1355b), Aristotle began by saying that persuasion is an art because it has principles that make it work. Three of the most important principles are the modes of proof: the means by which a message can influence its audience in intended ways. Aristotle sharply criticized earlier teachers of rhetoric for only teaching how to motivate an audience’s emotions. He said that it is artistically wrong because there is more to the art of rhetoric than appealing to the audience’s emotions. He also said that it is

ethically wrong because to ignore our capacity to reason is to treat us as if we were animals unworthy of human respect. People are better than that, thought Aristotle, and as persuaders we owe it to them and to ourselves to appeal to what is best (reason and rationality) rather than what is less than the best (emotional responses). Roberts, (1954), Aristotle, Rhetoric.

What rhetoric does, according to Aristotle, is to make the truth or the results of your inquiry effective in the everyday world, the world outside of professional or scientific communication. Rhetoric deals with opinions and best guesses about what is true, not with absolute certainty that science can give. While dialectic may approach the true and the necessary, rhetoric deals with the probable and the contingent. After all, asked Aristotle, who bothers to argue about things that are already scientifically true? We only argue about those things that might go one-way or the other. Because rhetoric, or persuasion, operates in the realm of the probable and the contingent, ethical questions moved to the forefront of concern for classical rhetoricians.

From another stand, and referring to Aristotle's rhetoric, Walton (1954) took into account the role played by the logos and ethos jointly with the pathos. The ethos and the pathos are constructed by the discourse itself. They are not external to it. On the contrary, they are shaped in terms of the evolution of the discourse. I mean the three aspects do not work separately; we do not see in the course of the discourse the effects of ethos working alone, nor do we see the effects of logos alone and separate from the other means on the audience, but the three aspects work as one force despite the fact that logos has usually been given so much more importance than the other two, as Aristotle did (see Conley 1990).

Pathos is the Greek word for 'suffering' or 'experience' and is often associated with emotional appeal. But a better definition might be 'appeal to the audience's sympathies and imagination.' An appeal to pathos causes an audience not just to respond emotionally but also to identify with the writer's/speaker's point of view to feel what the writer/speaker feels. In this sense, pathos evokes a meaning implicit in the verb 'to suffer'—to feel pain imaginatively. Perhaps the most common way of conveying an appeal to pathos is through narrative or story, which can turn the abstractions of logic into something tangible and present. The values, beliefs, and understandings of the writer are implicit in the story and conveyed imaginatively to the reader. Pathos thus refers to both the emotional and the imaginative impact of the message on an audience, the power with which the writer's message moves the audience to decision or action. John. (1998,"pp" 81-82).

The persuasive appeal of pathos is an appeal to an audience's sense of identity, their self-interest, and their emotions. Many rhetoricians over the centuries have considered pathos the strongest of the appeals, though this view of persuasion is rarely mentioned without a lament about the power of emotion to sway the mind. Appeals to our sense of distinctiveness and self concern make use of common preconceived notion; we naturally bend in the direction of what is advantageous to us, what serves our interests or the interests of any group we believe ourselves to be a part of. One can reach the conclusion of the feeling of patriotism to be expressed in the speech. Even when advantage is not an issue, speakers who belong to groups we identify with, or create groups we can belong to, often seem more compelling. We also naturally find more persuasive the speaker or writer who flatters us (especially indirectly) instead of insulting us. Thus skillful speakers create a positive image in their words of the audience they are addressing, an image their actual audience can identify with. Especially powerful are devices that create an identity between the speaker and the audience to make them feel almost as the audience addressing itself. The emotions also strongly assist, perhaps sometimes determine, persuasion. If, for example a writer wants a reader to evaluate something negatively, she or he may try to arouse the reader's anger to produce an action to someone's benefit, (e.g. to persuade us to make a charitable donation). An arguer may work on reader’s pity, but direct appeals to the reader to feel an emotion whether to feel happy about something or to feel sad are rarely effective. Instead, creating an emotion with words usually requires recreating the scene or event that would in “real” circumstances arouse the emotion. Thus descriptions of painful or pleasant things work on the emotions. Or the arguer can work on the natural “trigger” of the emotion. If, for example, we usually feel anger at someone who, we believe, has received benefits without deserving them, then the arguer who wants to make us angry with someone will make a case that that person was rewarded unfairly. John. (1998,”pp” 81-82).

The success of the persuasive efforts depends on the emotional dispositions of the audience because we do not judge in the same way when we grieve and rejoice or when we are friendly and hostile. Thus, the orator has to arouse emotions exactly because emotions have the power to modify our judgments. When a person is in a friendly or angry mood the judgment will differ, so the same person can be judged positively or negatively by different people in different moods. Many interpreters writing on the rhetorical emotions were misled by the role of the emotions in Aristotle's ethics: they suggested that the orator has to arouse the emotions in order to (1) motivate the audience or (2) make them better persons. Thesis (1) is false for the aim of rhetorical

persuasion is a certain judgment, not an action or practical decision. Thesis (2) is false, because moral education is not the purpose of rhetoric, nor could it be affected by a public speech: “Now if speeches were in themselves enough to make men good, they would justly … have won very great rewards, and such rewards should have been provided; but as things are …. They are not able to encourage the many to nobility and goodness”. Ramage, (1998, p. 81-82).

Ramage (1998.pp.81-82) mentioned that ethos (Greek for 'character') refers to the trustworthiness or credibility of the writer or speaker. Ethos is often conveyed through tone and style of the message and through the way the writer or speaker refers to differing views. It can also be affected by the writer's reputation as it exists independently from the message—his or her expertise in the field, his or her previous record or integrity, and so forth. The impact of ethos is often called the argument's 'ethical appeal' or the 'appeal from credibility’. This can be done through metaphor, storytelling, or presenting the topic in a way that evokes strong emotions in the audience. This appeal from authority can be made through: 1). Metaphor. 2). Strengthening the cause of the speech. 3). Storytelling. 4). Presenting the topic to evoke strong ethical emotions in the audience. These four aims will be explained in the following paragraphs.

The orator’s vast knowledge as well as his good educational background gives him the needed potentials to make his speech more vivid and important. The orator can extract quotes, proverbs and figure of speech from the culture and values of the intended audience, and then employ these quotes or proverbs in order to best improve his position in the minds of his audience. The implementation of suitable quotes, figures of speech, and proverbs, is up to the orator to decide what to include in his speech to make it easy to be understood by the audience. This insertion of quotes and figures of speech will make the persuasive power of the orator stronger to the audience. What is meant here is that if the audience understood the orator easily, then it is to be judged that this orator’s character and reputation suite the situation and the audience—that is of course in addition to the logical presentation of the intended message. Not every orator enjoys the power to persuade his audience with his character or what is rhetorically known as his ethos.

Good orator’s reputation is very important for him; it makes him worthy of the credibility the audience gives him. And this would have its own effects on his acceptability in the audience. In order to make his acceptability stronger and his message better understood by the audience, the orator has to decide what is important or worth mentioning in his speech. This inclusion of certain points of importance in the speech will enhance the speaker’s credibility. It is for the speaker’s own

potentials or skills in revealing to the audience these points of importance by leaning on his clear and continuous stream of these strong ideas. This would make the audience keen to follow up with the ideas being presented. Relating ideas to the cause of the speech can strengthen them immensely. If the speaker is aware of these points, he will be more trusted, and his reputation will be more important than before. The ideas in the speech must support each other. By that I mean every sentence inevitably must lead to the next one, and it should be on the same idea, not on different one. By strengthening these points that the speaker is keen to fulfill, his ideas become of more importance in the minds of the audience.

Any story if narrated more than once by more than one orator, eventually; it would become dull, boring, and would lose its value. For the audience to be interested in a story even though it might be old rests in the hand of the orator's image which the audience have in their minds and hearts. To clarify this, let me say that sometimes when we hear a story narrated by a person whom we do not like, because of his reputation or because of his way of presentation, we will not be interested at all in what he is saying. But if the person is of good reputation, well liked by the majority of the people, then the same story will seem interesting and will consequently attract the attention of the audience. So the ethos can be presented and expressed even by storytelling throughout the speech while it is being presented. Please be careful of what is meant by storytelling here. It is not a way to spend time just narrating on the part of the orator, it is for directing the audience to increase their trust of the orator's ethos. Again this is not referring to pathos; it is the other way round.

The audience as receivers nowadays and as they were in old times look for the speaker's reputation; if the orator is trustworthy and is known for his integrity and honesty, this will form a strong pillar of his persuasive power for the audience. But if the orator is of ill reputation and ill trust, his words will make no effect on his audience. The speaker must show his audience that he is a wise, honest, and credible source of information. The speaker must appeal to values that are shared by his audience. He can do this by:

1. Claiming authority: what the speaker knows about a topic, his personal experiences and credentials, and his speaking with confidence.
2. Establishing credibility: At times the speaker has to admit limitations in order to seem honest and modest, and that can be done by using key phrases, such as "I suppose" or "I confess"; the speaker must be honest with what he knows and does not know.

The third aspect of rhetoric that is important for the orator to achieve persuasion is 'logos'. In Greek, logos translate into "word" or "reason". In rhetoric, logos refer to systems of reasoning. Logos, along with ethos and pathos, make up means of persuasion or the kinds of appeals affecting an audience. Often classical logic is used as the method of reasoning so that the conclusion follows logically from the assumptions or support. One challenge is that if the set of assumptions is inconsistent then anything can follow logically from inconsistency. Therefore it is common to insist that the set of assumptions be consistent. It is also good practice to require the set of assumptions to be the minimal set necessary to infer the consequential. Such arguments are called minimal consistent. Such argumentation has been applied to the fields of law and medicine. Covino, (1995).

In its most common form, argumentation involves an individual and an opponent engaged in dialogue, each contending differing positions and trying to persuade the other. Other types of dialogue in addition to persuasion are information seeking, inquiry, negotiation, deliberation, and the dialectical method (Douglas, 1998). The dialectical method was made famous by Plato and his use of Socratese critically questioning various characters and historical figures.

Logic in this study is referred to as the "argument" that the speaker wishes to prove in his speech. The argument in the speech or what we can call its logical appeal is used to denote speeches as written texts through which the orator or the speaker shows his viewpoints or ideas for the purpose of persuading and influencing the reader or the listener through the use of a connected series of conceptual relations, volition, value, significance and opposition in order to establish a position or a claim. The connection of ideas, as Biber (1988) claims, will not be of any significance to the reader or to the audience if there are no logical relations between them to bind them together and justify their inclusion in the same speech.

Aristotle, also known as "The Father of Logic," was the first philosopher to create the three textual appeals of persuasion. He compiled his works on knowledge in the Organon, which means instrument, because it investigates thought or the instrument of knowledge. In Rhetoric, he describes logos as thought manifested in speech. Different philosophers have had many different perceptions of logos over the centuries. A 6th century Greek philosopher, Heraclites, thought of logos as the ordering principle of the universe that stands for divine reasoning. This Greek thinking opened philosophy for others to follow.

The old ideas about rhetoric were revived by Enlightenment rhetorical theorists such as Perelman and Olbrecht-Tyteca (1958), and

more recently by Campell (1986). From another side, people interested in argumentative communication studies gave also a particular importance to logos in that kind of discourse, which lead to a plentiful literature in "informal logic" (see Roberts 1989).

Poter (1997) mentioned that Aristotle defined rhetoric as ‘the means of persuasion’. Aristotle's treatment of rhetoric largely limits it to public address before political assemblies, in law courts, or at public ceremonies, and in this; he is followed by subsequent Greek and Roman writers on rhetoric. Poter (1997) also mentioned that the Greek word "ρητορτκή" which means rhetoric first occurred in Plato's Gorgias, probably written in the second decade of the fourth century BC. The term there is used by Socrates, and accepted without protest by the scholar Gorgias and his follower Polus, to describe the art of public speaking which Gorgias practiced and taught. Gorgias accepted the definition of rhetoric as 'the work of persuasion’, thus the popular view of rhetoric through the classical period was ‘the work of persuasion’.

Garver (1994) mentioned that Aristotle’s contribution to rhetoric is of great importance, because Aristotle's exposition on rhetoric is an attempt to systematically describe rhetoric as a human ability or skill. Aristotle’s definition of rhetoric as an approach of discovering “the available means of persuasion” seems to limit the art to the invention process, and Aristotle heavily emphasizes the logical aspects of this process of persuasion. His exposition in fact discusses not only elements of style and delivery, but also the emotional appeals (pathos) and character’s logical appeals (ethos). Aristotle then identifies three aspects of rhetoric: invention, arrangement, and style in addition to three different types of rhetorical proof: ethos, pathos and logos.

Persuasion is defined by many scholars (like Bettinghaus & Cody 1994) as a conscious attempt by one individual or group to change the attitudes, beliefs, or behavior of other individuals through the transmission of some message. Language can be used to tell the truth, yet it can also be used to persuade people to take a particular stance towards them. In this case the importance is given to the use of language to suit the aims of the speaker; it is like a sword with two sharp edges in the hands of the speaker; he can either use it peacefully or the other way round. The same idea is mentioned by Perloff (1993) who insisted that persuasion is an activity through which the speaker tries to make a change in the belief, attitude or behavior of the audience through the transmission of a message in a context, which means that the addressed audience has some degree of freedom of choice because they are attached to the speaker by the speech on hand. This indicates two major matters; the first is the character of the speaker and the other is the speech itself. By that I mean the elegant use of language, which makes

the audience tied to both the speaker and the speech at the same time and that, gives the chance for persuasion to take place.

Oliver (1942) stated that there are four purposes of persuasion, the two covert ones and the two overt ones. The first two (the covert ones) are to stimulate and strengthen feelings and beliefs and to create or change beliefs. The second two (the overt ones) are those designed to gain action based on strengthened feelings or beliefs and to gain actions based on a new belief. This means that feelings one may have could be changed if the right method of persuasion is applied in the two covert ones by the speaker to change the feelings or emotions in the listener—or the reader—based on the new beliefs or emotions. Here we can see that Oliver is concentrating on the psychological as well as the cognitive side of persuasion.

According to Dressler (1981:184) argumentative texts are defined as: Those utilized to promote the acceptance or evaluation of certain beliefs or ideas as true vs. false, or positive vs. negative. Conceptual relations such as reason, significance, volition, value, and opposition should be frequent. The surface texts will often show cohesive devices for emphasis and insistence, e.g. recurrence, parallelism, and paraphrase. By this I think as a researcher the emphasis is also on the aspects of persuasion but it is taken from the angle of text linguistics. This of course is directly related to rhetoric theory. I mean the conceptual relations are by analogy the same as logos in that they represent the ways by which the orator gives importance to his argument. It is also a good thing for the orator, from a rhetorical perspective, to express in the speech his wishes and to give a high value to his decision, or to convince the audience that the opposite direction of the idea being presented is not of a good value and that the argument being presented is for their benefit, and that is why it is being emphasized.

Recurrence in this context is when the idea of the argument is repeated from different angels of concern to the audience; consequently, it will be of great importance to them because it is repeated fruitfully. The same thing happens when the speaker makes parallelism of his ideas with other ideas, and that is because the speaker wants to direct the audience's attention solely to his ideas by giving it more importance. Sometimes it is important for the orator to say things from his point of view in order to make it relevant to the audience. All of the above mentioned ways of presenting ideas or arguments are for the purpose of persuasion. So we can see that Dressler's definition matches the three aspects of persuasion related to rhetoric since it deals with texts as either spoken or written and as a way to persuasion; so I find it better to clear this as the present study seeks to show how the several arguments present in the speeches of his majesty King Abdullah II are persuasive.

In Arabic language, rhetoric has similar focus as that found in the western tradition, which has been pointed out in the previous paragraphs. To shed some light on this part concerning Arabic rhetoric some ideas will be discussed below, hoping to make it clear, and to prove that the two languages (English and Arabic) share similar attitudes towards oratory/speech and the means of persuasion used/needed to convince the listeners or the audiences.

Hussein (2006) mentioned, in his book titled The Art of Rhetoric, that giving a clear speech that could be understood by the audience was considered one of the basic conditions for a person in order to become the ruler of his tribe or people; a skill without which he could not, even if he were described with the most eloquent words, be their ruler. Hussein also stated that Arabs in the era before Islam were famous for their clarity in speech and rhetoric and for their good taste in dealing with words; by that he refers to the choice of the right diction, meanings, and appropriateness between words, meaning, structure, and the best description of the situation in hand. Arabs, he states, were well known for their avoidance of unnecessary, strange vocabulary, and of all that may underestimate them as eloquent orators. Abdelqader Hussein (2006) reminds us that what attracts our attention in the language of Arabs in the era before Islam is that it was a language of lessening, which means that orators were used to expressing their ideas, or let us say arguments, in a kind of speech that is characterized by concise words and deep meanings. Because it was a common belief in that era that if speeches presented by orators at the time were long, then the audience may consequently feel bored and lack of interest would prevail. So they deleted letter(s), word(s), or even a sentence or sentences if the speech/idea was understood without them. Some old Arab rhetoricians said that rhetoric is “a great knowledge delivered or expressed in a simple way”. This was mentioned in Ibn Rasheeq's book titled Al-Omdah who said that rhetoric was reducing elocution and fulfilling the meaning. From all of the above mentioned we know that the method of lessening/shortening was a well-known virtue in the language of the ancient Arabs.

Al-khafaji, (335H. p, 45) one rhetorician of the fourth Islamic century, explained that Arabic beside its vastness and depth is considered one of the best languages in the world in getting the meaning across to its audience because it can do that even with the usage of lessening the meaning, by using a few words referring to deep meanings in the minds of the audience or the readers. This I would claim means that the deepest meaning the orator wants to get across to his audience can be fulfilled by using a few expressive words in the speech, which makes the meaning clear and obvious.

Moving to the Islamic era, Hussein (2006) mentioned that we find the need for the spread of rhetoric was very important for the spread of Islam and for other political, and religious reasons. Since Muslims of the time were defending the truthfulness of prophet Muhammad peace be upon him, and the need to defend the new religion 'Islam' in words through speeches, there was a battle in words of praising the new religion and the prophet by Muslim orators, and the other side of the battle was the unbelievers, who made fun of Muslims in their speeches as well. Both sides of the battle did their best in words. Rhetoric during that period of time was not different from what was before Islam in that Arabs in those days gave the case or the situation they were describing what should be given appropriately, so we find them giving pronunciation and meaning what they deserve, and they reach the goals of the intended speech in a simple, short or even in a lengthy way and that was done according to the situation or the case being described in words. Arab orators did that either by intuition or by training.

Arab families of high status and position in the community, before the coming of Islam, used to send their children to families in the desert in order to teach them language from its original sources to straighten up their tongues and to teach them good morals and values. Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) was sent to a family in the desert to teach him (PUH) to speak good Arabic. That was due to his birth and family status. He learnt Arabic language in the best way by the best speakers at the time. The point is that although he learnt to speak good Arabic, the issue of the holy Quran is totally a different matter. The holy Quran used the same standards of the Arabic language celebrated at the time, but it far surpassed them—in a way the same Arabs who originally developed, and highly celebrated, those standards could not match.

El-Shiyab (1992) illustrates that, newspapers editorials, as a form of argumentative texts, favor the cohesive type of lexical repetition not only for the purpose of cohesion and coherence, which are text-centered notions designating operations directed at the text materials. Dressler states that Cohesion concerns the ways in which the components of the surface text (the actual words we hear or see) are mutually connected within a sequence (Dressler 1981:3). Coherence on the other hand concerns the ways in which the components of the textual world, e.g. the concepts and relations underlying the surface text, are mutually accessible and relevant.

El-Shiyab (1992) sets out to conclude that English opts for economy in the use of cohesive devices such as recurrence, parallelism, and paraphrase, while Arabic largely coheres through the redundant effect created by the high frequency of cohesive devices not only for the purpose of cohesion but for persuasive functions as well. In other words,

each language has rhetorical conventions unique to it. Thus, the tendency to prefer an argumentative style or format over another does not mean that the language lacks that style but means that, for certain reasons, language users tend to favor a certain style. For example, Arabic depends on the use of frequency devices as persuasive tools for the orator. What is meant is the tendency Arabic language has for the assertion of the ideas the orator wants to get across to his audience, and this is the case that we as Arabic language speakers use nowadays. We emphasize the idea we want in the minds of our audience by repetition of ideas. In other words, each language has rhetorical conventions unique to it. Thus, the tendency to prefer an argumentative style or format over another does not mean that the language lacks that style but means that, for certain reasons, language users have a tendency to choose a certain style. Researchers such as Hatim (1989) looked at this liking to be related to solidarity, politeness, face saving and pragmatic phenomena.

Ba-Taher (2000) mentioned in his book titled Persuasion Techniques in the Holy Quran that language specialists defined persuasion as satisfaction—meaning being satisfied—and that the root of the word is "to satisfy" or "to be satisfied". Arabs say /yurdhi/ (to satisfy) or /yardha/ (to be satisfied) to denote that satisfaction means persuasion. Ben Isa Ba-Taher mentioned a proverb of the Arabs which says "the best thing is to be satisfied /persuaded and that the worst thing is the state of hunger” So the verb 'persuade' means the indication of self satisfaction, so the two words here are used interchangeably.

The word persuasion has many other meanings, but all we can say is that it meant "self satisfaction," and this meaning is the intended one by the rhetoricians. From the point of view of terminology the word “persuasion" is defined by Hazem Al-Qartaji (684H) in his book titled The Way of Rhetoric when he says that "persuasion is making others do something, believe in something, or just leave it and not doing it.” This limited and clear definition meets the actual and accurate linguistic and semantic meaning of the word, and it meets the modern meaning. With this meaning language specialists and writers in the past used this word; being self-satisfied can be detected from their speech as the meaning of being persuaded, even if they did not say it straightforwardly as such. In this regard, Hazem Al-Qartaji refers to Al-Jahez who mentioned the following: If the meaning is sincere, and the elocution is eloquent and true, away from hatred, and if it is free of discrepancy, and is away from absurdity, then surly it will make a great effect on its hearers' hearts; it will be like rain on a dry land. This effect which eloquent speech has on the souls and minds of the audience is what is understood from the word persuasion.

Ba-Taher (2000) mentioned that it was Al-Rama'ni (386 H) who stated that rhetoric/persuasion is getting the meaning across from heart to heart in the best way of pronunciation, for one of the aims, if not the only aim, of persuasion is to get the meaning across to the audience. Ben Isa Ba-Taher (2000) mentioned that philosophers and language specialists often use the word "*believing*" to refer to mental persuasion that takes place in the mind and soul of the audience(s). In this regard, Ben Isa Ba-Taher (2006) reminds us of what Ibn Rushed (595H) says and that people's behaviors are not the same regarding believing in somebody. You can find amongst them who does not believe but in proof, and who believes in argumentative gossips as if he believes in proof. Since there is not any merit in his character, he can use or behave accordingly, and yet you may find some who believe in speeches like the one who believes in a proof used for a proof. In my own interpretation of this statement, “a proof used for a proof” means that the orator uses a known proof which the audience are quite familiar with, which needs no explanation from his side as a base or a lead for the other proof which is only known to the orator, to make the audience believe in him and in what he is presenting to them in his speech. This way of proving is used by some orators; it is something like analogy, and it is left to the audience to make the decision. It is the orator's character which influences his audience by the usage of the three aspects as mentioned earlier in this chapter. He is the one who steers their interest in the speech he is delivering. The orator has to understand his audience’s emotions, feelings, and most of all their interest in the speech. The orator has to vary his evidence and proofs in his argument to match the supposed, hidden questions in the minds of his audience. These are the same as Aristotle’s ethos, pathos and logos.

The word "*believing*" in this context is the process of mental persuasion which takes place in the soul and mind according to its level of conception. Persuasion in the modern terminology is defined as making someone *believe* in an idea and perform it willingly. Mentioned in the Encyclopedia Britannica (fifth edition 1943-1973) that persuasion is the process through which speech affects the attitude and the behavior of the person. This modern definition does not contradict the old linguistic and terminological definition of persuasion. The aim of persuasion then is to make an effect on the mind and soul of the listeners or the audience and make them accept the proofs and facts and to put in force what is now considered true and persuading. This meaning provided by the Encyclopedia Britannica of persuasion in modern English matches the meaning we find in Arabic literature.

Al-Hashemi (1978) amongst many others mentioned that the three methods of rhetoric in Arabic, which every writer or author should be familiar with, are the following:

1. The scientific method: It is considered the calmest method of all methods and the neediest to the right logic and right thinking, and it is the furthest from poetical imagination, because it addresses mind and thought, and explains the scientific facts.
2. The literary method: In this method we can find wide imagination, beauty of words, delicate representation of emotions and feelings. The writer using this method tends to use figurative language with all the words that are related to the poetic description.
3. The speech method: This last method is of great importance to this research since it is directly related to the issue being discussed, which is persuasion in speech. Here appears the power of words, argument, evidence and brilliant thought. Using this method, the orator appeals to his audience's ability to do things that lie within their range of power, and arouse their interest in the matter being presented. The following can enhance the influence of this method:

1. The position the orator enjoys in the minds of the audience. (Ethos).
2. His strong argument. (Logos).
3. His tone of voice.
4. His good presentation.
5. His good usage of body language.

Mentioned in Aristotle's, Rhetoric, (p, 1358b) that the three divisions of oratory — (1) political, (2) forensic, and (3) the ceremonial oratory of display. But more important than the categories of persuasive speaking themselves was Aristotle's basis for distinguishing among them. For of the three elements in speech-making—speaker, subject and person addressed—it is the last one, the hearer that determines the speech's end and object. Aristotle argued that the three types of oratory could be divided according to the type of judgment that the audience made as a result of a public address. In political oratory, as we will see in the third chapter of this study when we analyze some of the speeches of His Majesty King Abdullah II, hearers make judgments about future actions by considering the advantages and disadvantages of particular policies. From the view point of forensic oratory, hearers make judgments about past actions by considering the justice or injustice of those actions. In ceremonial oratory, hearers make judgments about present events and people by considering the value and importance of those events and people. By casting the judgment of the audience as the

definitive factor for the types of persuasive speaking, Aristotle emphasized the importance of the audience to the process of persuasion. The audience also emerges as important in Aristotle's discussion of the means of persuasion.

Hussein (2006,p75) mentioned that persuasiveness is a gift by which the orator can express his intention(s) in clear words or clear elocution, and that it is a constant merit that accompanies him all the time; in other words, it is an endowment merit. If this merit is absent from him then he will not be called a good orator. Persuasiveness then is present, in the speech and in the speaker, and it is never merely in the words solely. So it is not considered true to say that a word is "plainly orated", but to say a persuasive speech or a persuasive speaker. So rhetoric according to Abdelqader Hussein is to make the audience understand you without any immense effort on your part as an orator. Otherwise it is the power of speaking and getting the message across to the intended audience, and it is sometimes defined as giving the meaning from heart to heart in the best manifested way possible. Abdelqader Hussein defines rhetoric as: the speech being suitable for the situation it stands for, and convenient for the case it is describing in that the orator or the speaker gets what he wants his audience to do or feel accordingly.

The speech has to describe the audiences' situation best, so it is different in each case; at this point we should refer to Aristotle's definition of persuasion mentioned earlier in this chapter, and the way it is presented differs from one speech to another. So in some speeches it is better to explain things in details, and in some speeches it is better to explain things in a shortened way. So if we want to describe a speech as being persuasive, its words then have to be standard and authentic, without any vagueness and the speech grammatical structure mustn't be apart from the syntax of the language used in the speech.

The orator is said to be eloquent if his words are chosen and then implemented carefully in the speech being delivered; if his way in presenting his argument is persuasive, this in turn will be considered the most important part of the persuasive speech. And it demands the orator to be well-educated, have the ability of expression, and understand the situation and to represent the real world he is describing to his audience. In addition, his choice of words should be, if not the best, the most expressive amongst others of his time.

On the same direction of ideas regarding the literature on persuasiveness of the eloquence of the orator, the word and the speech itself, Ahmed Al- Hashemi (1978) mentioned in his book that what is meant by the eloquence of speech is the clarity of its vocabulary which prevents any vagueness of meaning. Eloquent speech consists of eloquent words that are easy to pronounce as a result of their constancy

to the language system in which the speech is formed, and because it is easy to be understood since its vocabulary are restricted by the systems of the language (Arabic in this regard). Al-Hashemi (1978) added that what makes persuasiveness in speech is its purity of six defects as follows:

1. Aversions of words being together
2. Weakness of writing
3. Complexity of diction
4. Complexity of meaning
5. Too much repetition
6. Continuous addition

Eloquence of speech sometimes differ according to what is in the mind of the speaker, and this difference may appear obvious, so we find in the word of writers a vast sum of good words, which we may never find in others. Al- Hashemi mentioned that the eloquence of a word depends on specific regulations some of which are the following:

1. Its being free sound contradiction in that the word must follow the morphemic rules of the language, so that its sounds are easy for the tongue to pronounce and easy for the ear to recognize.
2. Its purity from strangeness; it is used familiarly.
3. It must abide by the syntax rules of the language, so as not to be unfamiliar and strange.
4. It mustn't sound absurd when heard by the audience.

Al-Hashemi (1978), then summarized his point of view regarding the eloquence of the orator by saying that what makes the orator say his speech in the way he is presenting it not in another way is called "the occasion", and the reason behind delivering it is called "the purpose", and that persuasion is not but the matching of the occasion with the purpose. The speaker, adds Al-Hashemi (1978), has to take into his consideration the purpose and the occasion in the best way to suite his picture of the occasion in that he should describe in his special way(s) what he wants his audience to understand; when the situation he wants to present is a 'promising one', he tends to use sweet, tender and pleasant words. But when the situation is a 'threatening one', he tends to use strong words denoting the anticipated aim. As for the eloquence of the orator, Al-Hashemi (1978) mentioned that it is a gift through which he is capable of composing persuasive speech to simulate the occasion being described. In other words, it is the firm merit he holds in his character, which he uses to express the meanings he desires through persuasive words because if the orator didn't have this merit and art of

appealing to his audience gratefully, then he would not be a persuasive orator at all. So the orator has to:

1. Think deeply of the meanings that he wants to get across, which of course have to be honest, just, have value and power, and which present the effect of innovation and the future vision of the orator of the situation he is presenting.
2. Coordinate the meanings and order them in the best way possible, then, when this is done, he can turn to the clear pronunciation which is considered effective, and order his expressions in the best way possible to enhance their power and beauty.

Finally if we look at both Aristotelian or the Western method of persuasion and the Arabic method of persuasion, we will notice that both rhetorical traditions have similarities in dealing with persuasion and oratory, and that can be explained by some kind of pattern matching between the two rhetorical traditions like this:

1. Both rhetorical traditions emphasize the **importance given** to the following points:
   - A) Words chosen for the speech have to suit the level of the audience being addressed, and orators should not choose words that are peculiar to them because the choice of words will affect the process of persuasion since words inevitably arouse the emotions of the audience, so the orator has to pay a great attention to choosing the right words for his intended aim.
   - B) The audience should be emphasized through understanding its culture, language, social habits …etc.
   - C) Clarity, simplicity of words and, of course, the speech itself all have to be of the known matters to the audience; having a background about the argument is essential for both the orator and the audience. By this I mean having the sufficient background makes it easier for the orator to handle the argument from his own perspective and to try to change the prevailing ideas or thoughts. It is also important for the audience; by that I mean they would be able to judge the argument of the orator based on their past knowledge. At this point exactly persuasion takes place in the minds of the audience.
   - D) Ideas and points of view should be presented gradually supported by proofs either to contradict or to support the orator's speech.
   - E) Honesty is on the part of the orator; he must be honest and telling the truth if he wants his audience to believe in him.
   - F) The good reputation of the orator is discussed and emphasized in both rhetorical traditions. It makes the audience in a relaxed state of mind because the good reputation will contribute to the argument presented by the orator.

G) Both rhetorical traditions have different types of topics addressed such as: religious, social, political and judicial; all of those have different characteristics and seek different purposes accordingly.

2. Both rhetorical traditions denied certain matters and emphasized the importance of **avoiding** the following:
   A) Using redundant words because it will distract the attention of the audience by making them think of the reason or the meaning of these redundant words.
   B) Weakness of the speech which can be the result of the argument being presented in the orator's weak words, an inappropriate tone of voice, or the repetition of the same idea without any specific goal.
   C) Presenting a speech that is somewhat irrelevant to the occasion being handled because this will affect the audience's acceptance of the whole matter.

It was Schifrin (1994) who commented on the most conceptual problem of discourse analysis. Depending on the different theoretical views adopted for that analysis, discourse is conceptualized in quite different ways. For some scholars what is important is just the structure, for some others its functionality, for many others its social role, and for some others its communicative features in terms of context, cultural interaction, and so on. All of these ways of conceptualizing the discourse lead us to the same thoughts and ideas of Aristotle. In order for the orator to be persuasive, he should have in mind several important points regarding the audience he is addressing such as their culture and way of life, or what is known as lifestyle because it will, no doubt, affect their concept of the world when hearing the orator addressing them. The other thing to be mentioned is that the effect of the discourse will not be of any importance for the audience if the speech structure is feeble and not clear. The direction of persuasion is linked to the orator's intention in the area of concern to him, or what he wants the focus of his speech to be; e.g. is it social or is it emotional? Because we live in a multicultural world, so the orator addressing people of different cultures needs to know their language, way of thinking and how they perceive other cultures as well. Knowing this information will facilitate the mission of persuading them. Reasoning or logic which will be investigated and analyzed in this study is of two types:

1. Inductive Reasoning: when specific facts move toward generalization. The speaker or the orator has to start with evidence and then formulate a claim connecting the evidence with his cause.

2. Deductive Reasoning: when a general idea is used to articulate a specific situation. The speaker or the orator has to make a claim and then provide the evidence to prove it.

The other method that will be used to prove the logic in the speeches of his majesty King Abdullah II is the method used by (Hatim 1989) through using his model of: through-argumentation versus Counter-argumentation

Hatim's approach (1989) assured the same point of (Biber1988) by mentioning that the two variants of argumentation, (through-argumentation and counter-argumentation) is defined as a form of speech that attempts to persuade readers to accept a claim, whether that acceptance is based on logical or emotional appeals or both. This point is exactly what links Hatim's approach to the rhetorical logos in any speech.

The presentation of the ideas through out the speech will be discussed and explained using the form of Hatim (1989) as mentioned earlier. The following examples represent the logical argument presented in the two speeches. Hatim (1989) perceives argumentative texts as texts that evaluate, or let me say that they are considered as the texts through which persuasion as an aspect could be noticed, and he divides them into two subtypes:

A) Through-argumentation, which is initiated by a statement of a point of view, that is to be argued through. In through-argumentation there is no explicit reference to some opposite view. He represents the format or structure of a through-argumentative text as follows:

Through-Argumentation: Thesis to be argued through →Substantiation→ Conclusion

B) Counter-argumentation, which is initiated by a thesis citing the position of an opponent followed by an opposition, substantiation and finally a conclusion. He represents the format of counter-argumentative texts as follows:

Counter-argumentation: Thesis cited to be opposed →Opposition→ Substantiation →Conclusion

Biber (1988) characterizes argumentative texts as the following:
(A) Modals are divided into three categories:

(1) Necessity modals, which are directly persuasive such as: must and should in English. Similarly, expressing necessity in Arabic is mainly conveyed by the Arabic lexical verbs/ yatawajabu /and /yajibu/

(2) Predictive modals, which are 'used to refer to the future, to consider events that will or will not occur' (Biber, 1988: 150)

such as: will, would, will not, etc in English and the addition of the initial morpheme /Sa/ and /sawfa/ in Arabic.

(3) Possibility modals such as can, may, might and could.

(B) Suasive verbs that mark the writer's attempt to persuade the reader that certain events are desirable or probable. Verbs such as agree, arrange, ask, beg, command, decide, insist and propose etc.

(C) Conditional clauses, which specify 'the conditions that are required in order to certain events to occur' (Biber, 1988. p.111).

(D) Repetition and intensifiers.

(E) Concessive adverbials.

(F) Rhetorical questions.

In the following chapter, I will be analyzing the speeches of his majesty King Abdullah II of Jordan by applying means of persuasion as described by Aristotle and will give reference to the different means of persuasion in Arabic where it fits and is needed.

## Chapter Three
## Persuasion in the speeches

In the previous chapter, I mentioned the main aspects of Aristotelian rhetoric theory, i.e. pathos, ethos and logos. These three are considered the apparatus of persuasion, which is the core of this research. And since the present study is concerned with finding the aspects of persuasion in the speeches of his majesty king Abdullah II, I collected the speeches of the years 2005-2007, and then categorized them into two levels, national and international, with dates, countries and/or cities, and the occasion on which each speech was delivered.

The speeches in each level are presented in tables in appendix A, and B. Analysis of the speeches is done on the basis of the three aspects of persuasion mentioned earlier. Because there are sixty nine speeches in the years 2005-2007, I find it more convenient to limit my research to a few of them (mainly two international and two national ones) as examples that will sufficiently reflect the aim of this research and be the ground for studying the other speeches in future research projects.

### 3.1. Data collection:

The data for this research were compiled after consulting the Media Department in the Hashemite Royal Court, which was very supportive, enthusiastic, and gladly supplied the researcher with the authentic formal texts of the speeches of his Majesty delivered over the years 2005-2007. After that the speeches were categorized into two levels, the national and the international ones as mentioned earlier. It is also important for me as a researcher because this categorization will make it find examples.

### 3.2. Analysis:

In the previous chapter, it was mentioned that Aristotle's treatment of rhetoric largely limits it to public address before political assemblies, in law courts, or at public ceremonies. The obvious purpose of communication, as defined by Aristotle, is to transmit a message, and the most common way of conveying a pathetic appeal is through narration or story in which the values, beliefs, and understandings of the writer are implicit and conveyed imaginatively to the reader. The persuasive appeal of pathos is an appeal to an audience's sense of identity, their self-interest, and their emotions. Direct appeals to the reader to feel an emotion are rarely effective. Instead, creating an emotion with words usually requires recreating the scene or event that would in "real" circumstances arouse the emotion. Emotional appeals consist of two parts which the speaker of any intended speech aims to create in the minds of the listeners or the

audiences he is addressing; they are either positive or negative. Human beings are not mere thinking machines. Instead, we rely heavily on feelings, and this is why effective communicators take into their consideration how to use both positive and negative feelings in persuasive communication. Ethos, on the other hand, has been defined as the use of emotional messages, but it is significantly more. Aristotle saw it as the emotional state of the audience in relation to both the issue and the speaker. Cooper (1932)

In the following two sections are the two types of emotional appeals with some explanation, followed by illustration from the speeches of his majesty king Abdullah II of Jordan on different occasions. I think it is of vital significance for the reader to distinguish these two parts of the emotional appeals because it would help in pointing out the emotions being expressed in the speech. Therefore the aimed result in the end of the analysis will be achieved on a solid ground of knowledge. For this purpose, I included in the following paragraphs examples from different speeches in order to make the idea behind these two parts of emotions clear.

## 3.3. International speeches:

### 3.3.1. Pathos

#### 3.3.1. 1. Positive Emotional and ethical Appeals:

Starting with love appeals could be put hypothetically on a two-sided-continuum. It starts from the point of bitter appeals on this continuum (e.g. loosing a person whom you love, like one's parents or a close friend) to sweet appeals such as poignancy to family gathering with love and caring for each other. Pleasant images can lead audiences not only to remember the persuasive messages, but also to be more likely to act on the message. Virtue appeals can evoke many values that society or individuals hold in esteem. In the range of virtue appeals are those made to justice, loyalty, discretion, bravery, devoutness, esteem and unselfishness, as well as to social or personal progress or acceptance. For example his majesty king Abdullah II mentioned this in more than one speech:

The first example is from the speech on Wednesday, 12-Dec-2007 when his majesty addressed the European Parliament saying:

> "Thank you for your warm welcome. On behalf of the people of Jordan, I am honored to come before this distinguished institution again". (The speech to the European Parliament, 2007)

In the quote above, the apparent loyalty to the people of Jordan is clear in the sentence "On behalf of the people of Jordan" which is an

indicator of the great love and caring his majesty holds for his people, to represent them in front of the whole world, which is an indicator of his positive emotional appeals as a representative of the people. He is appealing to them as "distinguished institution" to indicate his respect and recognition of their status and authority. In the same speech, there is the emphasis on the good relations between the Middle East in which Jordan is of central importance on the one hand, and Europe represented by its parliament on the other:

> "Today, we can think of a larger neighborhood, one that stretches from north of the Baltic Sea to south of the Mediterranean, one that is shared by Europe and the Middle East. It is the basis of the Euro-Med Partnership, our region-to-region platform for cooperation and development. It is a relationship with great shared interests and unlimited potential. And it is up to us to develop our partnership to its fullest". (The speech to the European Parliament, 2007)

When his majesty mentioned the word "neighborhood" in the above quote, he knows that this word will touch the social as well as the good relation ties between people in general and between Jordan and Europe in particular and that forms something like a concept fixed in the minds of the audience due to their cultural values; neighbors care for each other, help each other, and sometimes defend each other. This concept forms from a rhetorical perspective, a good background for the orator to direct his appeals clearly, and consequently, the effects of the speech will be evident in the time after the speech is delivered. This word 'neighborhood' is mentioned by a prominent leader such as his majesty king Abdullah II, to appeal to the audience's sense of justice, loyalty, and esteem.

This in turn leads the audiences to focus their attention on the argument being presented and to form a positive picture of the case he is presenting, which is the strengthening of the economical ties between Jordan and Europe because the world is like a small village due to the advanced technologies regarding the different aspects of life (e.g. transport, communication …etc). The positive connotation the word 'neighborhood' gives raise to the positive emotions in the audience being addressed which will, from a rhetorical perspective, enhance the persuasive power of the speech.

The following quote I chose to strengthen the same idea of partnership with Europe is from the speech on Tuesday, 13-Nov-2007 addressing the 7th German Foreign Trade Congress 2007 saying:

> "Thank you. I am pleased to be with you in Bremen today, and it's a pleasure to be back in Germany to meet friends, old and new. I speak for all Jordanians, when I say that your country is one of our most valued friends—a voice of leadership for our neighbors in Europe ... and our partner in global business and diplomacy" (the speech to the German Foreign Trade Congress, 2007)

The assertion of the idea of partnership in both global business and diplomacy between Jordan and Germany represented in its Trade Congress is of vital importance for both; this importance is mentioned in the above quote. By saying this, his majesty is also giving the positive feeling of friendship; it is a great feeling between people in general and between countries of mutual interests such as Jordan and Germany. This relation, though it is political in nature, will advance the relations between the two countries a step forward. The appeal to the audience's pathos is evident in the above quote; particularly in the second part of the first sentence (it's a pleasure to be back in Germany to meet friends, old and new). This indicates that there is no need to establish a new relationship or friendship between the two countries because it is already there and established. The mutual ties and relevance of importance for both Jordan and Germany is stressed on when he said (when I say that your country is one of our most valued friends—a voice of leadership for our neighbors in Europe ... and our partner in global business and diplomacy). This mentioning of the partnership will definitely raise the importance of the idea in the quote above, and this will increase the acceptability of his point of view regarding the issue presented. This appeal for the audience's pathos is strong and clear because true friends can do a lot for each other, of course if the thing being asked for is within the abilities, power or the authority of the one being asked.

Representing a country on the international level is not an easy task; on the contrary it is a hard job which needs extraordinary efforts on the part of the leader of that country. The leader has to be well qualified to extend his hopes and the future vision of his people and convey these hopes and vision to other people of the world. This would necessitate the ability to do that by communicating with other cultures of the world, by that I mean establishing ties between countries. In his continuous efforts, his majesty is not speaking only about himself but on behalf of all

Jordanians. As we can detect from the above quote when his majesty said (I speak for all Jordanians), this gives the speech extra importance in the minds of the audiences here is a great leader speaking on behalf of his loving and devoted people and this indeed made an effect which appeared on later confirmation by the German trade congress making many business agreements and contracts with their counterparts in Jordan. This would not have happened if his majesty had not made the needed efforts to establish this relation with the Germans. On the other hand the Germans would not have taken this step if they had not been convinced by both the great character of his majesty king Abdullah II and of his majesty's persuasive words in the speech.

### 3.3.1. 2. Negative Emotional and ethical Appeals:

Fear appeals are based on the human tendency toward anxiety or worry. Moderation is the key to using fear appeals effectively. Communicators have found that the best use of fear appeals is when they are accompanied by an easy-to-achieve and practical solution to the problems that audiences are willing to admit to. Younger people have a higher tolerance for fear appeals than do older people, and the effectiveness of stronger fear appeals increases when audience members have high self-esteem and feel immune to pending doom. Guilt appeals focus on a personal sense of shame, the antithesis of a virtue appeal. Like fear appeals, guilt appeals can be effective in moderation and with the appropriate audience. Hate appeals carry with them particular ethical problems. Social responsibility suggests that appeals to hatred of people are unethical and inappropriate though admittedly sometimes effective, particularly with audiences that are poorly educated. Less ethically risky are appeals based on the hatred of socially abhorrent ideas or actions, though abhorrence often is shaped by political and social issues that do not span cultures well.

On the international level, negative emotional appeal can also be seen on another occurrence of negative emotions being expressed to the audience by his majesty on Friday 25-Feb-2005 at Matthiae-Mahlzeit Dinner banquet in Germany when his majesty said the following:

> "But my friends, we cannot celebrate tonight, without being aware that there are groups which have a very different vision. Extremists who thrive on conflict; who do not tolerate diversity; who seek power through division and destruction. The global system they hope to create is one of new walls and new isolation, and radically smaller horizons. It is an anti-democratic,

> anti-economic-growth, and anti-progress agenda" (The speech at the Matthiae-Mahlzeit Dinner banquet in Germany on Friday, 25-Feb-2005)

Through deep thinking of these perfectly expressed words of appealing to the audience's emotions to be aroused in support of the speaker by mentioning the concept of terrorism and extremism, his majesty reminds the audience of the threats coming from those groups of terrorists and extremists who hate the state of peace not only in the Arab world, but also in the western world. The appeal to the audience's emotions is for the purpose of gaining their support in fighting these groups, to take steps in the direction of more democratic systems. The time of mentioning is of great importance; the two heads of states, his majesty king Abdullah II and the President of the Republic of Germany are gathering round dinner banquet. His majesty is reminding the German of the wall that separated and divided them. By doing so he is touching a sensitive cord.

The above mentioned information about the linking of mutual interests between Jordan on the one side and Great Britain on the other is for one reason and that is to arouse the audience emotions and to make an influence on them in order to gain their support. This is represented in the following quote from the speech by his majesty king Abdullah II when he said:

> "We can work together for a world of law and progress –where our people live and thrive in safety. We must choose carefully and remember that we—and our children—have to live in the world that we create." (The speech to the British parliament 07-Nov-2006 in London)

The reason behind this sentence and others in the same speech is that the importance of the cause being presented is important for both sides, and that is an important point from a rhetorical perspective because it will as mentioned before, be considered an appeal to pathos. His majesty is indirectly saying that we in Jordan play our role, and you should play yours in order for peace to prevail at last for the benefit of the next generations. This idea is enhanced directly in the following sentence of the speech to make the audience feel his majesty's deep emotions regarding the cause. It will of course link the audience with the speaker and therefore will make a change. Of course they will not be interested if they do not find the matter emotionally evoking on the one side and beneficially important on the other side for them.

> "Nowhere are our choices more important than in the Middle East. My region plays multiple strategic roles in 21st Century security. It is the spiritual home of three historic religions—two of which, Christianity and Islam, make up more than half of the world's people. We are Europe's closest neighbours. Our people have lived together for thousands of years. Together, we nurtured most of what the world now views as civilization and science. Our region has long been a nexus of global trade, and is now, crucial for energy production." (The speech to the British parliament 07-Nov-2006 in London)

In order to make this idea fixed firmly in the minds and souls of the British lords, King Abdullah II stated not only Jordan's role in the area, but also the role of the whole area. In doing that, his majesty is considering himself as the representative of the whole of the Arab region. Taking that into consideration will mean that the emphasis by the audiences will increase indeed, which in turn makes them be more cooperative and more understanding of the message. The religious domain is also taken into consideration in the above quote; it is taken historically. This means the relation between the followers of the three historic religions is not a new one, which needs to be pushed forward. On the contrary it is as strong as it can be. This appeal to the audience pathos is done thoroughly in the speech by reminding them of their great and important role to be played in the arena of the conflict between the Palestinians and the Israelis. He referred to the religious importance and its effect on the two heavenly religions, namely Islam and Christianity. How people in Jordan of both religions have been living in peace and harmony for years! This will in turn direct the audience religious emotions, and consequently gain their support; it is an appeal for their religious pathos.

As has already been described in the second chapter, Pathos is the Greek word for 'suffering' or 'experience' and is associated with emotional appeal. But a better definition might be 'appeal to the audience's sympathies and imagination.' An appeal to pathos causes an audience not just to respond emotionally, but also to identify with the presented point of view—to feel what the writer feels.

There is no better example of employing the above mentioned characteristics of the appeal for the audience's pathos than the Joint Address to the USA Congress on March 07, 2007 in which his majesty

addressed the emotions and honest feelings of the American people and their representatives in the congress to take a clear stand towards the problems of the Middle East in general and the problems of Jordan in particular.

This needed stand is emphasized in the following quote in which his majesty reminds the audience of the terrible situation in the Middle East:

> "Today, I must speak; I cannot be silent. I must speak about a cause that is urgent for your people and for mine. I must speak about peace in the Middle East. I must speak about peace replacing the division, war, and conflict that have brought such disaster for the region and for the world." (The Joint Address to the USA Congress on March 07, 2007)

The importance is given in the sentence "I must speak about a cause that is urgent for your people and for mine." The linking of interest of both the Americans and the Jordanians, and at the same time of his majesty, increases the appeal to the emotions of the audience, the American Congress, to feel the suffering and agony of the people in the Middle East because the United States of America is the only political, economic and financial authority in the whole world amongst all other countries in the present time which can make a difference if and only if it determines to do that for the people of the region. Here the linking of interest is considered an advantage to the speech indeed. The mentioning of the same previous point about breaking silence concerning the situations in the occupied territories in the west bank in the past years which is about fifty five years at the time of the speech, is of vital importance to be mentioned to the audience; hence it will direct their attention to what has been done so far by the administration of the White House from one side and by the two houses of the congress on the other side. The importance of this idea, which is the breaking of silence, was mentioned in several occasions by other leaders from the Arab world such as his majesty king Abdullah Bin Abdul Aziz of Saudi Arabia and the President of the Republic of Egypt. Despite all of these efforts by the Arab leaders in general and the Hashemite leaders in particular, nothing has changed concerning the cause of the Palestinian people's sufferings. When his majesty king Abdullah II mentioned that the silence was broken during the reign of his majesty late king Hussein and the support which late king Hussein got from the same authority, the American Congress, in 1994, he meant to bring the audience's emotions even closer to the present cause he is presenting since it is a continuing process, of both his majesty

late king Hussein and his son his majesty king Abdullah II about the consistent demand in the Middle East for this cause to be solved once and for all. The following two quotes from the speech to the American congress shed light on this cause even clearer.

> "This was the cause that brought my father King Hussein here in 1994. With Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin beside him, he spoke of a new vision for the Middle East. Their courageous work for peace received bipartisan support from your leaders. And there was tremendous hope for a new era. There was tremendous hope that people would be brought together. There was tremendous hope that a final and comprehensive settlement of all the issues would be achieved." (The Joint Address to the USA Congress on March 07, 2007)

In the above quote, the audience's emotions and sense of authority towards the need for action are provoked powerfully when his majesty King Abdullah II mentioned true facts which are beyond doubt: the presence of people who suffered the pain and misery of losing their loved ones. There are no best ways to change the emotions of the audience than to remind them of their own suffering when appealing to their emotions. The above quote is a negative appeal as it reminds the audience that despite all the measures taken, the situation on the ground is still the same.

Making use of the presence of the afflicted families from different countries, those who have suffered the same effects of terrorist's attacks, increases the impact on the audience's pity emotions and the emotions of being sorry for those who have gone through the tragic events in both countries, Jordan and the United States of America. And this is clear in the following lines:

> "In this room, there are representatives of American families and Jordanian families who have lost loved ones. Thousands of people have paid the highest price, the loss of their life. Thousands more continue to pay this terrible price, for their loved ones will never return. Are we going to let these thousands of lives be taken in vain? Has it become acceptable to lose that most basic of human rights? The right to live?" (The Joint Address to the USA Congress on March 07, 2007)

Appealing to the audience’s ability and power, or sense of identity and self interest through mentioning their outstanding capability to do something, is considered difficult to achieve by others. Such an appeal is loud and clear in the following quote. Yet the words are simple to be understood by the audience because they are the highest decision makers in the United States of America and because they know previously what his majesty is referring to by saying:

> “Your responsibility today is paramount. Your potential to help Palestinians and Israelis find peace is unrivalled. This is because the people of the region still regard the United States as the key to peace, the one country most capable of bringing the two sides closer together, holding them accountable, and making a just settlement reality.” (The Joint Address to the USA Congress on March 07, 2007)

The first sentence in the above quote is of great importance because of the message conveyed to the audience. As described by John E Jordan (1971) when he mentioned that rhetoricians tend to emphasize rhetoric as communication, an approach that pays special attention to the transmitter and the receiver, the speaker/writer should use all his writing abilities to project himself and establish the appropriate contact with the listener/reader. By saying ‘appropriate contact’, John E Jordan (1971) means that the speaker had to be knowledgeable about the audience interests, values, culture, and eventually the speaker should be able to detect the best way to approach his audience properly. In order to do that the speaker should also be able to decide what to say to suit the speaker’s own interests, which he seeks to fulfill through the speech. It appears from this idea that the principle of communication is to transmit something. Even if the medium is the message, there is still a message of some sort. Clearly the message is the appeal to the audience’s sense of responsibility, which of course refers to the capabilities and the authority of the audience. This is considered from a rhetorical perspective as the appeal to pathos.

His majesty reinforces this by giving details of what is needed to be done by the audience, which in this position is for the Palestinian cause, and the need is establishing peace. His majesty reassures the American Congress of the public opinion in the Arab countries as well as in Jordan regarding the role that should be played by the United States of America, the most powerful country in the world, which can help make peace real. This mentioning of the public opinion in the Arab world will lead to a better argument on the side of persuading the audience of their authority, and consequently lead to the best results on the other side.

His majesty reasserted the importance of the ‘unrivalled’ potentials of the audience in order to make use of every part of the speech, to lead the audience’s attention to the argument presented by referring to another side of the argument to be taken into consideration, which is the time of the speech. What I mean by this is that when his majesty decided to deliver this historical speech, he took into account, that there was an international will to put an end for this cause. This of course will enhance the persuasive power in the direction of arousing the positive emotions of the audience. By this I mean the audience will feel that they are not the only authority in the world that strives to achieve peace in the occupied territories, but there is an international will to do the same thing for the two sides of the conflict, namely the Palestinians and the Israelis. The following quote will show this idea clearly:

> “I come to you today at a rare, and indeed historic, moment of opportunity, when there is a new international will to end the catastrophe. And I believe that America, with its enduring values, its moral responsibility, and yes, its unprecedented power, must play the central role.” (The Joint Address to the USA Congress on March 07, 2007)

His majesty is inspiring the American Congress to take a step forward towards grasping the rare chance to make a change in their attitude towards the Middle East issues; his majesty is supporting his stand by mentioning the determination of the whole world in the same direction. The recurrent use of the verb "must" indicates the urgent and strong demand by the speaker to fulfill his request, and it also indicates the necessity of the demand from the speaker's point of view. It is used by orators to signal a hidden message to the audience of the importance of the demand being made.

The constant efforts to make advancement toward peace in the occupied territories are on a continuous route. It appears in the meetings his majesty held and the conferences he attended in Jordan or abroad. His majesty always explains the effects of deteriorating thoughts and the miss-directed vision of some ignorant people, whom we and the rest of the world, call terrorists, those who made people suffer, and innocent people to experience the pain of losing their loved ones, hit cities like London, Amman, New York and other cities in the world. The miserable conditions, which made the people in these countries feel the agony and pain the attacks caused to them; a few of the world leaders took the lead to talk on behalf of these people in different forums, but the only leader who had the rare chance of presenting their cause in front of the American

congress is his majesty king Abdullah II. This information, expressed by his majesty in the following speech, helps in evoking the positive emotions of the audience towards the aim of the speech, which is to gain their help in protecting the rights of the people in the region especially the Palestinians to live in peace and in harmony with the Israelis.

Appeals to pathos, the appeal to the audience's emotions to stir their power, authority, potentials and sense of responsibility, can be detected from the other speeches of his majesty king Abdullah II of Jordan. Appealing for the authority and power of the audience, pathos, is an important part of presenting the argument in a strong way. Now the audience in the second speech is the British parliament who was asked by his majesty king Abdullah II to take a position in asserting the importance of peace for all the people in the world and the people in the occupied territories in particular. His majesty delivered a great speech on Tuesday 07-Nov-2006 in London. To give an idea about the speech itself, it is an excellent presentation of the situation in the Arab world and other countries of the world where terrorists have carried on their attacks on the peaceful citizens and official buildings of those countries. His majesty made it clear that merely one country, no matter how great is its power, cannot make a change in fighting those extremists alone, but the collaborative efforts of the countries of the world to ban those ill-minded people from executing their bad intentions can be effective. Stating the main reason for the speech of his majesty is important because it will attract the attention of the audience to the past time and the actions which had been taken from the side of the audience. I mean it will remind the members of the British Parliament of what they have done so far regarding the cause being presented and it will remind them also of what they have not done so far. This we find in the introductory sentences of the speech when his majesty said:

> "It has been almost exactly five years since I was last before you. We live in a time of extraordinary change and great danger. Violence continues in Afghanistan and Iraq. Terrorists have hit London, Amman, Madrid, New York and other cities. The occupation and humanitarian crisis in Palestine is ongoing. Lebanon needs the international community's full support to rebuild and maintain its national unity." (The speech to the British parliament 07-Nov-2006 in London)

These important words of truth and reality, similar to those we find in every speech, place ahead the situation his majesty tries to put forward

in every occasion he participates in, to let the audience think in advance of what is going to be presented not by a layman, but by a king who always seeks the benefits and advantages of the Palestinians, Lebanese and the Iraqi's alike. The direct shift of attention is noticed from the second sentence in the above example. His majesty first of all referred to the last time he has been in a visit to the British Kingdom. This clever initial sentence refreshes the memory of the audience. By this I mean that their attention is directed to the information they had about the situations in the Middle East before this present visit. This linkage of ideas is cleverly used when he builds up on previous information and begins the reaffirmation of the dangers the Arab world, as well as other countries, is facing. The linking of interest between Jordan and Britain is obvious through the continuous efforts of both sides in confronting terrorism and extremists whether in the Arab world or any place else.

### 3.3.2. Ethos:

His majesty's reputation, insightful mind, thoughtful and powerful character is well–known to the whole world, especially to the European countries. His majesty is seen as a prominent leader, who struggles for the freedom and the right of the Palestinians to have their own independent viable state, and for the Iraqi people to have a country free from war and ideologically conflicting minorities who fight and kill each other for nothing. His majesty's efforts meant to aid the Lebanese people, who need the international community's full support to rebuild their destroyed country, and to maintain its national unity.

This is the situation that was presented in front of the two Houses of the American congress in a time so delicate to the whole region, a time of great dangers, threatening the people of our country and the surrounding countries. I will in this part give the needed examples from each speech then move to the other one. I will begin the analysis of ethos in the speech delivered to the American congress 2007, then I will analyze the second speech delivered to the British Parliament 2006. These speeches are the best examples of the characteristics of ethos presented above, and we can find more than one instance through which his majesty indicates his credibility to the audience. For example, consider this:

> "It is an honor to stand, as my father did, before this historic institution. Allow me to thank you, on behalf of all Jordanians." (The Joint Address to the USA Congress on March 07, 2007).

The mentioning of the past experience though it is not his majesty's, is strong a referent that could be benefited from. In order to make the argument become persuasive his majesty combined it with the

second sentence to make the audience be sure that his credibility is beyond any doubt in the hearts of all Jordanians, men and women. From a rhetorical angle the issuing of past experience is considered a pillar in persuading the audience of the speaker’s argument or viewpoint, for which he wishes to gain support from them. In this case, the past experience is of his majesty’s late father king Hussein. And this is considered from a rhetorical point of view as strengthening the cause being presented (as mentioned in chapter two above) before the American congress by mentioning the extraordinary previous deeds of the late king Hussein. This mentioning has what is called the two sides of the coin. On the one side, this mentioning reminds the Americans of their good relations with the Jordanians, and the commitment made by the United States represented by its government in the past years. On the other side, this mentioning would certainly be a point of strength for the position of his majesty king Abdullah II.

His majesty is reaffirming the position he enjoys as the son of a well-known figure in the whole world in general and in the United States of America in specific, the late King Hussein, and that he is indeed no less than his father. King Abdullah II in the above quote from the British parliament speech is speaking on behalf of all Jordanians. This would increase the credibility of his majesty’s position for the audience. The intended audience in this occasion knows his majesty very well, but that does not mean not to mention this important position of his majesty. It will definitely strengthen his status in the audience which is the members of the British Parliament. It does not mean just to come and address the audience normally.

In another occurrence related to ethos on the international level let us go back to the speech when he addressed the American Congress, and let us remember that he studied in America and so he knows their culture best, what they find good and what they find bad. This reminds us of Oliver’s (1942) two covert purposes of persuasion through which the speaker attempts to stimulate and strengthen feelings and beliefs and to create or change beliefs. He establishes this information by saying to the American congress (2007):

> “The America I know so well, a place where individuality is nurtured, a place where hard work is rewarded, a place where achievement is celebrated. The America I know so well believes that opportunity and justice belong to all” (The Joint Address to the USA Congress on March 07, 2007)

When somebody asks if you know somebody else, and you reply by saying ‘of course I know him/her so well, in this case it means that

your information about him/her is to be referred to when needed because you certainly have what could be an important background about that person. It is the same case in courts and witnesses. The witness is asked if he knows the convict. His answers are taken with great care by the members of the juries. Accordingly the verdict will depend on the information presented by the witness. By analogy, the case is similar to the information given by his majesty in the above quote. Nobody is capable of describing any people if he did not at least live with them, studied their culture, and knew what could be said or done to change their point of view toward any arguable issue, and how they look into things being presented. In our case, this information being provided will make the audience feel that you are closer to them; you know them so well, as if you are one of them. This would change the picture or idea which they have about you as a speaker they did not listen to before, and consequently this knowledge would help the orator to increase the persuasive skill he has on the intended audience. This change would make the audience begin to make the required change, the change which is the aim of the speaker from the speech and that is what is referred to as persuasion. The above quotes express how the orator could establish his credibility in the minds of his audience. Again our main goal is persuasion in speech, and we should keep in mind that his majesty reminded the audience of his deep personal knowledge of America due to his education there which enables him to say: “The America I know so well”.

Metaphor as explained earlier (in chapter two) is another aid used by the orator to help him in grasping the intended effect on the audience through which a narrative, a proverb, or a saying is used in the correct position to enhance the effect needed for the argument to be strong and effective; this is used in the speech of his majesty king Abdullah II. Consider:

> “A decent respect for the rights and dignity of all nations, large and small.” “That's how President Roosevelt - the great F.D.R. - described the basis of American foreign policy. He pledged American support for the four freedoms, freedom from fear, freedom from want, freedom of speech, and freedom of religion, everywhere in the world. The Four Freedoms speech was given right here, before Congress. And that's entirely fitting. Because it is here in the People's House, that the voices

> and values of America have made hope real for so many people". (The Joint Address to the USA Congress on March 07, 2007)

This extract from one of the speeches of President Roosevelt–the great F.D.R— in the above quote, helped in highly evaluating the speaker's strong argument in the speech. By that I mean the audience is aware that he is referring to their culture, their basics in dealing with other nations of the world respectfully, which is expressed by one of their great leaders. If the speaker is aware of the culture of his audience, he will be highly evaluated by them and consequently his words will be listened to carefully, and his speech will also be of a high value for them. This referential note in the quote above is used by his majesty in urging the audience to form a new vision different from that they hold in their minds. The previous visualization is that the cause of Palestinian people is not our business, so why should we care about it? All what is important is the security of our interests in the area; including the safeguarding of Israel for it is a vulnerable state, which cannot protect itself on its own. Of course, the list goes on, and this study is not concerned in stating these interests. It is the duty of the United States of America to take care of these interests in every way possible regardless of the Arab countries, and the suffering of the Palestinian people, who have been seeking for a solution for their right cause for more than fifty years. His majesty king Abdullah II knows this very well. So in his speech we see the vast efforts headed in the direction of changing this view prevailing in the American society. The above quote represents the idea that a change must take place. How could that be done? From a rhetorical perspective and, as mentioned in the previous chapter and this, if the orator employs the right referential quotes or proverbs from the culture of his audience, then his quotations will ring a bell in the ears of his audience. While listening to the speaker, the audience thinks of his words, of the reason why he chose this particular quote or proverb to be used in the speech. At this point in particular, the orator will make the desired change in the minds of the audience. This means that the position the orator has in the audience is of a high place; this is clear from the way his majesty is addressing them; by this I mean, his majesty used quotes from their previous president Roosevelt; his majesty knew that the American people hold respect to that president because he is considered an example for American presidents. This referring to the culture and values of the American people would increase his majesty's ethos in the minds and hearts of the audience, and consequently will mean that his ethos is obvious in the words he is using in the speech.

Strengthening of the cause presented by the speaker as illustrated above is considered one of the merits of a successful orator; it gives him an advantage to show his position as a representative of himself, his people and his country as well. As a researcher I have noticed, not only in the two speeches (British parliament speech 2006, American Congress speech, 2007) but also in all of the speeches, that there is an apparent effort aiming at strengthening the cause in every speech. This appeal would be considered the appeal of the speaker's status, position and credibility to his audience, which is of course known as the appeal of ethos. This appeal for ethos makes the argument more persuasive in the minds of the audience because it makes the representation of the situation on ground clearer from all sides and it reveals the importance of the cause being presented to the audience. By doing this, the emotions of the audiences become even stronger in accepting the speaker's ideas, and they become more persuaded. I will provide some of the examples to prove my claim:

> "We can wait no longer and that is why I am here before you." (The Joint Address to the USA Congress on March 07, 2007)

As I mentioned before the employment of the pronoun 'I' is essential in this particular speech because it entails an important reference to the ethos of the speaker. His majesty in the above quote represents the supreme leadership, the decision maker and the highest authority in Jordan. This is clear from the quote. The representation of authority is considered from a rhetorical perspective an appeal of speaker's ethos to the audience. His majesty is not claiming authority; in fact he is the authority with all that the word means. It is an authority appealing to another authority, and the medium is the message conveyed in the speech as a whole.

The examples from the speech to the American Congress reveal his majesty's ethos. It is implicated in the use of the pronouns "I", "We" and "me" because all of these pronouns refer to the authority of the speaker, and it is important rhetorically for the speaker to refer to this authority in any suitable form within the speech he is delivering. Below I will provide some of these quotes, from the mentioned speech, to prove the claim of the strong presence of his majesty's:

> "I say: No more bloodshed and no more lives pointlessly taken!" (The Joint Address to the USA Congress on March 07, 2007)

What is more important than life? A question to be asked with the answer previously decided and known: nothing. What about the thousands of lives being wasted for nothing? These kinds of questions are not asked by any ordinary person, but by a prominent leader in the whole world, and

that would certainly ring a bell in the ears of the members of the American congress. Consider the following quote, through which his majesty king Abdullah II is addressing the audience as the representative of the people of Jordan. He is expressing this by the use of the pronoun "I". In the beginning of the quote below, the speaker is expressing the thanks of the people he is representing; which mean that his majesty is not speaking only on behalf of himself but on behalf of all Jordanians. This representation, being made clear in the minds of the audience will certainly increase the credibility and trustworthiness of the speaker. These thanks from the people of Jordan to the American's for the contributions of the Americans to the future of Jordan are expressed in the following quote:

> "I deeply value the partnership between our peoples, and the contributions of so many Americans to the future of our country. (The Joint Address to the USA Congress on March 07, 2007)

In the next quote we see the use of the pronoun "we". It indicates a reference to both the Jordanians and the Americans as one solid and fortified front; an authority of two wings. This combination of the authorities' by the speaker will increase his position and will make his speech elucidating. His majesty is assuming a position which enables him to speak on behalf of both—yes a position of acknowledged authority. Therefore his ethos will be prevalent in the minds of his speakers.

> "It begins with courage and vision. **We**, all of us, must take risks for peace. The Arab states recognized that reality in 2002, when we unanimously approved the Arab Peace Initiative. It puts forward a path for both sides, to achieve what people want and need: a collective peace treaty with Israel and normal relations with every Arab state, collective security guarantees for all the countries of the region, including Israel, an end to the conflict, a dream every Israeli citizen has longed for since the creation of Israel, and an agreed solution to the refugee problem, a withdrawal from Arab territories occupied since 1967, and a sovereign, viable, and independent Palestine. (The Joint Address to the USA Congress on March 07, 2007)

Again in his speech to the British parliament on Tuesday, 07– Nov –2006, his majesty's ethos prevailed clearly. Again the use of the first pronoun is evident and leads the audience to the high position his majesty enjoys, and which prompted the "warm welcome":

> "I am greatly honored to be with you today and thank you all for your warm welcome." (2006, British parliament speech)

If you read carefully the following quote from the same speech, you will surely notice that his majesty's use of the pronoun "we" in the second sentence indicates the joining of authorities as one. This is similar to what was mentioned earlier in the previous speech, the speech to the American Congress (2007). When his majesty says "we" in this sentence, he means both the British and the Jordanian peoples alike in facing problems, dangers and the extraordinary changes the world faces today. This, of course will make the speaker's ethos more vivid and important for the audience. If you ask how this would be the case from a rhetorical point of view , the answer will be the following: since his majesty is considered the legal representative of the Jordanian people and the best to represent what the people in the area feel and suffer, his majesty's acceptance in the Western world and the support he gets from the leaders of those countries on different levels of cooperation between Jordan and those countries make his credibility in the audience's minds reach a high level and therefore he is listened to carefully. As a result, his majesty's words will certainly make a difference:

> "It has been almost exactly five years since I was last before you. We live in a time of extraordinary change and great danger." (The speech to the British parliament, 2006)

His majesty's world wide reputation, intelligent character, warmth, sense of responsibility towards his country, acceptability and respect in the Western world, are known around the world, and give him the strength to explain to the British people represented by their Parliament that the conflict in the occupied territories of Palestine will be solved if his solution toward developing the area are followed. Of course, this mentioning of solutions in front of the British Parliament indicates, from a rhetorical perspective that the speaker is a representative of his people's hopes and wishes in having a peaceful life in the future:

> “Now we need measurable progress towards a clear objective: two secure states, at peace with each other and the region. The Arab Peace Initiative promises security guarantees for Israel … a sovereign, viable, and independent Palestine … and a process that would lead to a comprehensive settlement. It is the basis for practical results: a clear end game and an effective process that can reach it. It is in full accord with international legality. It has the acceptance of all Arab states and the Palestinians. I ask the international community to join us in resolving this crisis once and for all” (The speech to the British parliament, 2006)

We see the confirmation of the case on behalf of the Arabs in general and the Palestinians in specific is done perfectly throughout the two speeches though they are one year apart and addressed to different audiences.

In the later speech in front of the American congress, the case was made stronger in order to achieve the needed effect on the audience; not to forget that there were Jewish congressmen attending the speech; nevertheless, the two houses of congress stood up three times applauding for his majesty while delivering his historical speech—an indicator that he has made the desirable effect through establishing his trustworthiness as a speaker, and in reaching the mentality and heart of the American people. When a true friend advises you, you do not suspect his words and you do not think much, but you tend to believe his words to you. His majesty addressed the joint houses of the congress as "my friends; I come to you as a friend.” The words used by his majesty such as “your friend” and the use of the first plural pronoun "we" which indicates from a discourse point of view the intention of the speaker to express the close relation the audience holds with the speaker. The same plural pronoun "we" might be used to refer to the speaker and to the people he is representing, and that in turn enhances the credibility of the speaker.

The assertion of the importance of time is clear for one thing to be done, which is the urgent action on the part of the audience because it represents the country’s highest authority, the one capable of taking the needed action to stop the suffering of the people of Palestine and the

Israelis at the same time. His majesty, in this sentence declared the core point of the visit. And at the same time he appealed to their ethical principles in order to arouse their emotions to the argument being presented. The answer from the audience did not come late; on the contrary, it appeared from the long clapping for his majesty from all of the audience.

> "Your country has a special relationship with Jordanians, Palestinians, and other Arabs, as well as with Israel." (The speech to the British parliament, 2006)

After mentioning the situation in both, Iraq and Palestine, his majesty turns the attention of the audience to the importance of taking the action being appealed for from the British parliament, again because it represents the authority of decision makers in Britain similar to the authority of the American Congress. My point here is that orator's ethos is of great value indeed if employed correctly in the speech; it will increase the credibility of the orator. And as a result persuasion will be the dominant phenomenon.

People in the Arab world—and specially the Palestinians—suffer numerous cases of fear such as the fear being killed by terrorists, the fear to be shot dead by an Israeli soldier, or the fear to be an orphan not having anybody to look after you, or the fear from going to school because of the blockade imposed on streets and towns, or the fear of being bombed while sitting on your desk at school. His majesty always plays an important role in defending the rights of the Palestinian people to live in peace. We definitely see that he is calling on the authorities in a big country such as Britain to secure the rights to live without fear for the Palestinians and the Iraqis who face enemies. He is carrying their case to every place his majesty visits, explaining the urgent need to do something for them. His role is obvious through the conscious knowledge of the existing state of the Iraqi people, who are suffering nightmares of the armed militia.

The burden of the two nations is a heavy one. The examples from the two speeches (2006, 2007) concerning the Palestinian and the Iraqi questions show without doubt that king Abdullah is first of all fully aware of the hopes for a better life in the present and the future, and secondly of the people's ambition regarding a future free from violence, killing and despair. Rhetorically speaking, the orator would not be able to reflect his, or other people's miseries, or pains and hopes or expectations for a better future if he is not considered an honest and trustworthy figure respected by all of his people. This trust and respect would be his strong ethos to be expressed to the audience. The speaker of status must stand for his

people’s interests. His majesty king Abdullah II of Jordan has proven, on all levels of responsibility, throughout his words and deeds that he is courageous, that he is really trustworthy and alert to defend the people of the Middle East area, especially in Jordan, Palestine and Iraq. What is clearer than his majesty’s courage when he delivered the speech to the American congress? The following quote represents my claim:

> “Yes, my friends, today I must speak. I cannot be silent. Sixty years of Palestinian dispossession, forty years under occupation, a stop-and-go peace process, all this has left a bitter legacy of disappointment and despair, on all sides. It is time to create a new and different legacy, one that begins right now; one that can set a positive tone for the American and Middle East relationship; one that can restore hope to our region's people, to your people, and to the people of this precious world.” (The Joint Address to the USA Congress on March 07, 2007)

The words in the quote above are very strong indeed. They imply the fortified well of his majesty as a prominent leader in the whole world and as the king of Jordan. It reflects the ethos of his majesty and that is clear through the authority he represents. He builds on his well-received reputation to urge the American government and congress members to act.

It is time now to turn the path of this current study into the direction of the third aspect of persuasion, namely logos or logic in the speech. As mentioned earlier in the previous chapter, the presence of the aspect of persuasion in the speeches of his majesty king Abdullah II is obvious and compelling. It cannot be the work of pathos and ethos apart from logos—the logical argument and evidence he presents to his audience.

As previously mentioned, story telling or a narrative can turn the abstractions of logic into something plain and present. The values, beliefs, and understandings of the writer are implicit in the story and conveyed imaginatively to the reader. This rhetorical style is, of course, an important part of appealing to the audience’s emotions. Consider the following quotation from his majesty's speech to the congress:

> “In my days in Massachusetts, I also learned something of New England virtues. There wasn't actually a law against talking

> too much, but there was definitely an attitude that you didn't speak unless you could improve on silence” (The Joint Address to the USA Congress on March 07, 2007).

In this introductory quote his majesty mentioned that he was a student in the United States, and that indicates many things for us to consider, such as knowing their culture and the values they have; so part of reaching to the American audience, is to tell them that his majesty knows their culture, habits and ways of thinking because this will help in making the speech more convincing, and consequently the route of persuasion will be easier to reach. His majesty reminds the American people represented by the two houses of the congress of the great proverb they know very well: that if the speaker did not have something valuable and important, one should better keep silent. The prolonged situations in the Middle East continue despite the fact that these situations have been at the core point of discussion in the meetings of the Arab leaders in general with the united states' government; yet nothing real happened on the ground to help the Palestinians as well as the Israelis to live a peaceful life away from the daily killing on both sides of conflict. These situations made his majesty break the silence in the ears and hearts of the American people represented by the two houses of the congress. His majesty king Abdullah II expressed to the American Congress that he has something to say, and indeed it is very important for his audience to listen to and to understand deeply what he wants to say to them. By this technique of story telling that identifies with the audience culture, their positive emotions are aroused and they are prepared to listen as what will follow will be an improvement on silence. That is to say, it is important to hear the case he is going to present which is indicated in its first mentioning in the sentence that immediately follows the quoted paragraph above. He confirms this knowledge in the following paragraph through the repetition of the sentence “I must speak" and in the sentence "I cannot be silent." The turning of the values in the direction of the intended aim of the speech is accumulated successfully through out the whole speech.

### 3.3.3. Logos:

As stated in the previous chapter, the argument core is its reason or what is called in rhetoric 'logos', the third aspect of persuasion and its fundamental issue. It is based on logic, facts and reason. The speaker has to use specific facts and evidence to prove his point, such as citing credible sources. Some examples include statistics, surveys, polls,

testimonies, reports, and experiments. Using logic to persuade your audience is not an easy process, as one might think, because it demands a great skill on the part of the orator in order to make his claim strong and convincing. His majesty king Abdullah II, in his speech to the two Houses of the American Congress (2007) and his speech to the British Parliament (2006), positioned the logic of the argument in the minds of his audience. I will begin with the speech delivered to the American Congress, then move to the speech to the British Parliament providing the suitable quotes in order to make my claim stronger

Presenting the argument in a way that attracts the intended audience is one of the most important steps that should be followed by the orator in order to get his audience persuaded, which will by the end of the speech make the aimed effect, and therefore the change in attitude will be the result. This effect on the audience is what is called persuasion. In his majesty's attempt to do that, he presented the cause in the first speech by stating the present situations, the challenges that the Palestinian people face nowadays; the killing of the innocent civilians, who did nothing to deserve that; the peace process which is on halt because the two parties could not reach a workable agreement without the help of other countries, which can make this hope be true. In the second speech the appeal was to the whole of the British people, represented by their Parliament encouraging them to aid his majesty's efforts to make peace a reality in the Middle East.

King Abdullah II, who took the flag, and continued the process of progress successfully and courageously, reminded the American highest authority of its important, yet not played effectively, role in implementing peace and tranquility in the Middle East. His majesty did that smoothly and stated the facts that American authorities know about the Palestinian cause; so the following quotes from the speech, shows the details of the cause, and the needed efforts his majesty called upon to be exercised by the American authority. He mentioned the time that has elapsed since the beginning of the cause until the present time, the time of the speech, to make his appeal even stronger in the ears of his audience because there was the important linkage of friendship and the relation with the Americans. Consider the following quotation from the speech to the congress:

> “Jordan and the United States have had a long friendship. It is a special privilege to be here in the year that the American Congress welcomes its first woman

> Speaker, and its first Muslim-American member of Congress. These milestones send a message around the world about the America I know so well, a place where individuality is nurtured, a place where hard work is rewarded, a place where achievement is celebrated. The America I know so well believes that opportunity and justice belong to all." (The Joint Address to the USA Congress on March 07, 2007)

In this text from the speech, his majesty King Abdullah II mentioned the background that is necessary for him to begin presenting the cause in order to make the audience feel familiar with it. Right from the beginning, and through the simplest and most convenient way of deductive reasoning, that's when a general idea used to express definite circumstances. The speaker or the orator has to make a claim and then provide the evidence to prove it. If we look at the first sentence in the above quote, we will sure notice what deductive reasoning means. His majesty began by general information about the relation that ties Jordan with the United States: "Jordan and the United States have had a long friendship." Then the ideas in this quote moved further deeper to mention personal information related to his majesty by saying "The America I know so well believes that opportunity and justice belong to all". It is presented, and simply put, to move the argument from general to specific facts in order for the audience to accept the following argument being presented:

> "I must speak about a cause that is urgent for your people and for mine. I must speak about peace in the Middle East. I must speak about peace replacing the division, war, and conflict that have brought such disaster for the region and for the world." (The Joint Address to the USA Congress on March 07, 2007)

The above quote indicates the initial ground for thoroughly building the argument in the speech. We can see the speaker giving his argument the importance it needs in the minds of his audience. This is done clearly with the use of the modal verb 'must', which indicates necessity or urgency of the argument because it reflects the need for considering the cause to be noticed by the American congress. His

majesty presented this gradually, starting from the general to the specific details, so as not to distract the audience’s attention. In the above quote from the speech, we can clearly notice that the usage of the modal verb ‘must’ is to indicate the importance of the message the speaker is getting across to the audience, and this would make the argument stronger in the minds of the audiences, because this modal verb 'must' has the connotation of asserting necessity or obligation from a point view of language structures. For us in this study, the repetition of the usage of this verb, “must”, would make the audience feel the necessity which the speaker wishes to get across. Consequently, it will increase the logic presented in the speech. So here the emphasis is amplified while the audience is listening to the speaker. The logic being used in the speech is a deductive one, and it is moving form general to specific details. His majesty began his speech by stating the common relationship that Jordan has with America, and then he moved to more general information by stating the electing of the first Woman Speaker, and the first Muslim-American congressman, then his majesty began to move the direction of the argument gradually to more specific matters such as the information in the following quote:

> “These milestones send a message around the world about the America I know so well, a place where individuality is nurtured, a place where hard work is rewarded, a place where achievement is celebrated. The America I know so well believes that opportunity and justice belong to all” (The Joint Address to the USA Congress on March 07, 2007)

After the mentioning of his majesty’s personal information about the America he knows, raising their awareness, he began the argument intended to get across in the speech, as initiated in the following famous quote:

> “Today, I must speak; I cannot be silent. I must speak about a cause that is urgent for your people and for mine. I must speak about peace in the Middle East. I must speak about peace replacing the division, war, and conflict that have brought such disaster for the region and for the world. This was the cause that brought my father King Hussein here in 1994. With Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin beside him,

> he spoke of a new vision for the Middle East." (The Joint Address to the USA Congress on March 07, 2007)

The previous quotes from the speech to the American Congress if we notice, will lead use to the final result, which is represented in the final statement in the speech:

> "Today my friends, we must speak; we cannot be silent the next time a Jordanian, a Palestinian, or an Israeli comes before you, let it be to say: Thank you for helping peace become a reality" (The Joint Address to the USA Congress on March 07, 2007)

The building of the argument in the speech, began by stating the long, historical and strong relations between Jordan and the United States, but it is necessary to be mentioned since we are talking about deductive reasoning, stating the general and moving to the specifics, then his majesty started to go into details by mentioning more than once the just cause of the Palestinian people, the conflict they have with the Israelis. After that, his majesty moved to the mentioning of the terrorist's attacks on Jordan, on the capital Amman. These ideas being presented thoroughly in the speech are now fixed in the minds of the audience. It has been built step by step. These ideas will work as a trigger to be used by his majesty to make the needed effects in the minds of the audience to encourage them to take the aimed step, in my simple opinion I consider these the premises that led to persuasion. More specifically and referring to the speech's quotes mentioned above, the audience are the native speakers of the language, so they will not by any means find difficulty in understanding the usage of the modal verb 'must'. As I mentioned before, it is innate. We as non-native speakers of the language can only see the result and the strong effect of the speech of his majesty. It is presented in the form of body language of the audience. While following the speech as it was broadcasted, I really did not even move a foot while his majesty was delivering this historical speech. I saw those moments of glory, when the audience stood up three times warmly clapping for his majesty. His majesty is considered a perfect bilingual speaker of the two languages, Arabic and English, due to his education. This indicates that he has already gained his audience's acceptance of the cause he has presented in the speech. This acceptance which appeared in the room of the congress means that his majesty won the hearts and minds of the audience; it means that the argument was vivid; it means that the orator has done his job in the best way of presenting the appeals; it means that persuasive powers of the orator were combined elegantly.

The same thing, I mean the use of deductive logic occurred in his majesty's speech to the British Parliament (2006). During the speech, his majesty began the cause of the Iraqis by first presenting the situations in the whole of the Middle East then moved forward to the situations in Iraq saying,

> "Let me speak first about the conflict in Iraq. The situation on the ground today is untenable. Persistent hostilities have delayed economic and political reconstruction. Sectarian violence and terrorism are driving the death toll higher. Both of our countries have also sacrificed greatly. I do not need to tell you how much Britain has given. Jordan has absorbed thousands escaping conflict. And, as you know, from Iraq, terror was exported to our capital one year ago." (2006, British Parliament)

In the above quote, his majesty elucidated the situation in Iraq and in the Middle East in a deductive way. He began by asking the audience to let him, as a representative of the people of Iraq, to express their sadness, fear and agony which they face daily in their homeland because of terrorism. Then the link of ideas began by the mentioning of situations prevailing in the disturbed countries such as Afghanistan. This is presented in the following quote from the speech to the British Parliament:

> "Violence continues in Afghanistan and Iraq. Terrorists have hit London, Amman, Madrid, New York and other cities. The occupation and humanitarian crisis in Palestine is ongoing. Lebanon needs the international community's full support to rebuild and maintain its national unity." (2006, British Parliament)

This linkage of ideas would encourage the audience to take the necessary, urgent steps to halt the increasing violence in the area and in the world which suffers from brutality and fear. That must be stopped, King Abdullah II appealed, with the help of the British and the Europeans alike. The speech came before the British parliament with all its members. On the one hand, it is not an easy task to make other people be convinced with the ideas and hopes of a speaker. The process of presenting the ideas,

hopes, and cause deductively is of great significance because it will create an influence on the addressees;

Another proof can be presented by applying the above method of argumentation which will sum up the main points of the logic used in presenting the speaker's argument, through which he achieved the aimed goal—persuasion —or to put it in another way to get his audience change their attitudes and beliefs concerning the case presented. The logic of the argument will be presented in the form of examples from the two speeches. As a reminder, this can be purified by the use of the Hatim's (1989) approach of proving the argument mentioned in chapter two (p.28), namely Through-Argumentation and Counter- Argumentation. What is meant of the first one which is Through-Argumentation is when the speaker initiates by a statement of a point of view, which is to be argued through. In this type there is no overt mention to some opposite view.

**3.3.3.A. Through-Argumentation:**

Thesis to be argued through:

> "I must speak about a cause that is urgent for your people and for mine." (The Joint Address to the USA Congress on March 07, 2007)

This sentence indicates the necessity of the cause presented. It is declared by the usage of the modal verb 'must' and through the closing phrase in the sentence "urgent for your people and for mine" in order to encourage the audiences to be interested in the cause presented, to feel that this matter is of mutual importance for the Americans and the Arabs alike. His majesty supported the claim for urgency of the cause by providing a validation of his vision in the following sentence:

Substantiation:

> "I must speak about peace replacing the division and war". (The Joint Address to the USA Congress on March 07, 2007)

The replacing of division and war with peace is an urgent cause that his majesty is trying to achieve through out the historical speech to the congress and to the American people as well because they have suffered from the effects of neglecting this critical issue. So something must be done to avoid similar disasters in the future. He pointed to the painful spot. The appeal to the audience using the strong logical evidence is clear from the conclusion being presented. Analyzing the cause into its details is another proof, which cannot be denied in any reasonable sense. The conclusion that is inferred from this is stated in the following sentence:

Conclusion:

> “I say: No more bloodshed and no more lives pointlessly taken!” (The Joint Address to the USA Congress on March 07, 2007)

His majesty wanted the audience to reach the point through which they find no hesitation in fulfilling the aimed goal, that is, to stop the killing of innocent lives anywhere in the whole world. It looks like he is saying to the American people and their congress; you must stand in the right place and defend not the Israelis alone but the Palestinians as well. If you do not do it, then things on the ground will turn into catastrophe. And only the Americans are to be blamed for this conclusion, not the Arabs, because the Arabs have given their best shot to reach a peace agreement with the Israelis.

The same method can be applied on the speech to the British Parliament (2006). His majesty began by mentioning the aim of his majesty’s visit:

Thesis to be argued through:

> “Violence continues in Afghanistan and Iraq. Terrorists have hit London, Amman, Madrid, New York and other cities. The occupation and humanitarian crisis in Palestine is ongoing. Lebanon needs the international community's full support to rebuild and maintain its national unity.” (The speech to the British parliament, 2006)

The situations in Iraq this time is under investigation by his majesty King Abdullah II. Though it was a year before the speech in the American Congress, this speech handled the issue of Iraq in the homeland of the strongest allies of the American government, the British, reminding them that this cause is not new for them since it was mentioned five years before the timing of the speech; yet, nothing has changed a bit on the ground. To make them recognize the dangers facing the people in this country, his majesty builds up his argument on a past knowledge, which he declared five years ago in London.

Substantiation:

> “Today, we should share the goal of restoring Iraq as a sovereign, secure, and unified nation … with a home-grown, democratic government that will respect the rights of all communities … and a reconstructed infrastructure and economy, that can offer people freedom and hope. Without these, we will not enjoy lasting

> stability." (The speech to the British parliament, 2006)

The idea of the secured, unified Iraq with a democratic government is the reason that made his majesty King Abdullah II come for the second time to the British Parliament to help make that possible in the real world, this warning is for the benefit of the British people since it is not possible to live in stability if people in the world are living under bombing, shooting and arresting. People in Iraq, Lebanon and Palestine deserve to have their own dependent states, governments and parliaments. The warning to the British is based on the logic presented by his majesty in the speech. The conclusion to be reached is the following quote from the speech:

> "Finally, Iraq needs creative thinking about political and economic incentives that give armed groups a reason to put down their arms and move into the political process. Under the right conditions, some of them could be absorbed into key state institutions." (The speech to the British parliament, 2006)

This indicates the deep thinking of his majesty King Abdullah II regarding the situations in the Middle East and in Iraq. Here the urgent need is that the British government must take its role seriously to gather the separated parties in Iraq to come together sitting round a table and to discuss their situation. Reminding you of what is meant of Counter-argumentation which starts by a thesis referring to the point of view of an opponent followed by an opposition, substantiation and finally a conclusion.

**3.3.3.B. Counter-Argumentation:**

Thesis cited to be opposed:

> "Some may say, 'Peace is difficult, we can live with the status quo'." (The Joint Address to the USA Congress on March 07, 2007)

In the above example from the speech to the American Congress, his majesty is stating his honest refusal of some counter thoughts by some people referred to in the quote as "some" which indicates their minor impact on the prevailing idea of peace in the whole world. He mentioned that their ideas contradict with what is felt and needed by other people such as his majesty who mentioned the justification in the

next quote when he opposed those "some" and proved to them that peace is not difficult at all.

His majesty is a great political leader, one who is able to detect what the opposition parties may think of the vision presented to the congress, especially the American Jewish members of the congress, but this thought in some of the heads of the American congressmen is declared and refused loudly and clearly in the following sentence through which his majesty is opposing:

Opposition:

> "How can there be anything more urgent than the restoration of a world where all people, not only some people, all people have the opportunity to live peacefully?" (The Joint Address to the USA Congress on March 07, 2007)

This question is asked for one reason, which is to ensure the Americans that in the end they will reach the same conclusion and that there will be no peace, no security for them or for their children and even for the whole of the world if the main conflict remained not resolved.

Substantiation:

> "And this core issue is not only producing severe consequences for our region, it is producing severe consequences for our world." (The Joint Address to the USA Congress on March 07, 2007)

The situations which were very pessimistic in most of the Arab world and Palestine in specific made His majesty take the role to defend the just cause of the occupied territories in Palestine and in the Arab world. His passionate and eloquent plea for peace in the Middle East made before Congress (and broadcasted more than once nationwide) warned, "The status quo is also pulling the region and the world towards greater danger"

His majesty, focused on this main point:

> "The denial of justice and peace in Palestine" (The Joint Address to the USA Congress on March 07, 2007)

The king's remarks were interrupted by 18 ovations, three of which were standing. The cause of Palestine has been neglected and deliberately forgotten by the rest of the world, and in particular by the country, which has the greatest influence at the present time, The United Sates of America.

These efforts by his majesty King Abdullah II were expressed many times, in more than one event or situation. The historical speech delivered on the 7th March 2007 to the joint houses of the American congress, which is a chance rarely given, but for an exceptional leader who has something

important to say for the American people representatives is of great importance to the people of Palestine and is considered as a step towards pushing the cause of Palestine forward. His majesty took the advantage of being the fourth Arab leader given this historical chance and decided to do the unexpected which is mentioning matters related to the region frankly and openly without any fear of being misunderstood by the American people and their representatives in the congress. This deed is one of a kind because over the years of political debates and discussions, none of the Arab leaders did speak frankly and openly like the way his majesty did in front of the American congress. This openness of speech would make the audience feel that their orator is telling them the truth, and this would lead to persuasion to take place in their minds.

Some political observers in the United States anticipated that his majesty would focus on Iraq or on an appeal for more U.S. aid to his country now providing refuge to almost one million Iraqis. They anticipated this due to the present situations, which are considered deteriorating in Iraq. These deteriorating events would lead for more troubles in the region, especially in Jordan; I noticed that on television screens which made interviews with people who were concerned with political analysis, but his majesty proved that they were wrong and did not make the focus of his speech on the Iraqi issue. Rather it was solely about the Palestinian just cause. His majesty's remarks were not designed to secure frequent applause. Instead, the main focus of the speech was on a thoughtful and passionate appeal:

> “The urgent need to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict". (The Joint Address to the USA Congress on March 07, 2007)

This in turn would refer directly to the aspect of pathos which is indicated by the phrase “The urgent need” which as mentioned before, is the appeal to the audience's emotions and feelings to gain their support on the one hand and to persuade them on the other. This indeed would make the argument even stronger and more precise in the minds of the audiences.

His majesty's arguments were compelling. Iraq is of course a critical issue, but it is not, King Abdullah II noted, the core issue that roils the region. “The wellspring of regional division,” he observed, “the cause of resentment and frustration far beyond, is the denial of justice and peace in Palestine.” This, his majesty concluded, is the “core issue…producing severe consequences for our region… and for our world.” (The Joint Address to the USA Congress on March 07, 2007)

Throughout his majesty's remarks, he spoke persuasively of Palestinian rights using words rarely heard in the halls of the Congress. Speaking “as a friend who cannot be silent,” his majesty told of “sixty

years of Palestinian dispossession” and “forty years under occupation,” creating a “bitter legacy of disappointment and despair.” His majesty called on Congress to support efforts “to restore Palestine, a nation in despair and without hope". (The Joint Address to the USA Congress on March 07, 2007).

King Abdullah II infused his remarks with a moral and political challenge, reminding Americans of their shaky picture in the world public opinion. By doing this, the audience power is manifested clearly in the speech; thus his majesty noted that Arabs and Muslims often ask whether the West really means what it says about equality and respect and equal justice and continued by observing that:

> “nothing can assert America’s moral vision more clearly; nothing can teach the world’s youth more directly than your leadership in a peace process that delivers results not next year, not in five years, but this year”. (The Joint Address to the USA Congress on March 07, 2007)

His majesty continued to demonstrate the Arab nations’ collective commitment to peace as expressed in the Beirut Declaration of 2002, which supported a comprehensive resolution to the conflict that included two states at peace with normalized relations amongst all countries in the region.

The King spoke with a sense of urgency, making it apparent that the clock was running out for peace to become a reality. The power and content of the speech were unexpected. There was, of course, applause, and a number of standing ovations. But during long stretches you could hear a pin drop in the crowded chamber; many members in deep reflection, frequently nodding in agreement with the king’s observations. Some members of congress were deeply moved by King Abdullah’s appeal; the speech was emotionally and logically very persuasive, and it touched the hearts and minds of the American congressmen and women alike.

There can be no doubt that the king’s speech made an important contribution. It has empowered and rejuvenated Arab Americans and American Jews who want peace; it provided both with important leverage with which to press their case. The speech also provided food for thought for the still small but growing caucus of legislators who are convinced that the king is right–that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is a core issue of concern, creating extremism in the Middle East and dividing the U.S. from the Arab world. They believe that the time for a solution is now, before facts (on the ground) and despair and more violence make such an outcome all but impossible. King Abdullah used an extraordinary

opportunity to deliver an important message. He is to be commended for doing so. The search for an Israeli-Palestinian peace is the core issue, and time is running out. His majesty gave the search for peace his best shot. This is his challenge, to which all of us must now respond.

### 3.4. The National Level:

**Introduction:**

On the national level on the other hand, I found among many speeches delivered by his majesty two of special importance, the first one was on Monday, 04-Jul-2005 when his majesty addressed the Islamic conference held in Amman. It was very persuasive, and through it his majesty set the fundamental rules and basic principles to overcome the continually defamed image of Islam, the religion of peace, forgiveness, equality and freedom of worship. And the other one was on Thursday, 10-Nov-2005 in Amman when his majesty addressed the nation after the terrorist attack on our beloved capital Amman in which many innocent people lost their lives for nothing they did.

In the first speech, his majesty took into consideration the challenges facing Islam as a religion that has been offended by some faithless Muslims either intentionally or unintentionally, and what is happening to Muslims all over the world especially in areas like Pakistan, Iraq, Palestine and other countries where the killing of innocent people became an acceptable and normal matter amongst other ill-minded people of the world, whereas the essence of the message of Islam depends solely on dialogue and the thoughtfulness of discussions with others, those who do not know the religion of Islam. His majesty in this speech took this matter seriously; the critical timing of the speech was of great importance because the situation in the world was and maybe still in its utmost heat. His majesty comes as a defender of Islam to change the present image of Islam as a religion of killing and terror to that of what is true Islam, and to persuade the scholars to adopt the views and solutions presented by his majesty.

His majesty’s speech to the assembly of scholars came to put everything in its right place and to encourage scholars to take the right position in defending Islam and in making those who are ignorant of Islam from both the Muslim and the western world and the rest of the world see and understand that the peace message of our religion 'Islam' is all about the securing of human life. It is about bringing the divided parts of the Ummah together and unifying them in front of the prominent dangers facing Islam and protecting Muslims' and Islam's rights in every other aspect. His majesty did that in the most clever, simple way and thus made the way to solutions clear and the doors for debate and dialogue

opened wide-open for others to enter and see what should be understood about Islam.

Similarly the second speech came as a relief for those in pain; it was considered as a push forward from his majesty against terror, in any shape it might be. The speech expressed his majesty's vision, and ultimate determination in unifying the people of Jordan as one and he also expressed his strong faith in the Jordanian citizens, every one of them man and woman. Anger and at the same time faith in the speech are clear for everyone because the kind of language and the words used expressed the feelings of sorrow for the ones who lost their lives and the solid faith in all the citizens. The relation of ideas in the two speeches is to fight terror and extremism and consequently fighting any one supporting them. So in the first speech the fighting is based on true Islamic rule and regulations that must be clarified and presented to the public, stating that all the “Mathahib”–parties/schools–of Islam are brothers and that no party has the right to convict the other of going astray. In the second speech the call was for the unity in fighting the terrorists who attacked the hotels in Amman.

### 3.4.1. Ethos:

In establishing the authority of the speaker, we would not find better examples than the first speech calling for unifying the aim; the aim is fighting terrorism and extremism. The speaker and the audience are one, seeking and striving for the best to be done in order to reach this aim. The mere presence of his majesty is considered an element of strength on the part of the speaker from the point of view of the basic elements of rhetoric theory; this is clear from his speech when he says:

> “It is a real pleasure for me to welcome you at your meeting today in Amman, to discuss the different issues and challenges facing the Muslim Ummah (nation).” (2005, Islamic conference)

The presence of the king in the conference as a host and a supporter to the guests of Jordan adds to the warmth of the extended welcome; this in itself establishes the highest level of authority in the audience. It confirms the case presented by the speech. Ethos can be expressed by the way the argument is presented to evoke strong effect on the audience. It is enhanced by the simple way his majesty used to present the different, but related issues thoroughly in this speech at the conference.

Another occurrence is in the second speech delivered after the explosions which took place in Amman on 10-11-2005 that black day in the history of the capital city. His majesty offered the following:

> “I would like to begin by extending my profound condolences to the families of all the innocent victims who were killed, and we are praying for a swift recovery for all of those who were injured” (The speech after the terrorist attacks on Amman, 2005).

The shared feelings on the side of his majesty are not a spur-of-the-moment; on the contrary it is as solid expression that reaches the hearts and minds of every man and woman in The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. The strong words—“My profound condolences”—indicate the entirely intimate emotions which his majesty expressed. Add to it his presence and sharing in the “praying for a swift recovery for all of those who were injured.”

These profound words in the two quotes above represent the ethics of the kind-hearted King Abdullah II who always stand on the side of the needy, the poor and the injured alike. These kinds of words will certainly increase the love of his majesty in the heart of every Jordanian citizen. Because his majesty’s heart and soul are with his majesty’s people. He is standing as a firm fortification of protection, in the support of all of the Jordanians.

### 3.4.2. Pathos:

#### 3.4.2. A. Positive emotional and ethical appeal

On the national level, in particular in the social domain, which is considered as an essential part of the positive emotional appeal, I mean when the orator is addressing his people to inform them that they are always in his mind, holding their hopes for the future and dreams of better life free of miseries; it is vital from a rhetorical point of view for the orator to take into consideration the notion that, the people he is governing or ruling are not abandoned and that their hopes and desires are put on the top priorities of his agenda as a leader. This has to be shown to the people by expressing it either through speeches or by decisions, which are to be taken when the need is evident. This fact is expressed in every speech of his majesty; for example the following quote expresses the idea of the importance of the social domain. The quote is from the speech on 16-Sep-2007 addressing the first We-Are-All-Jordan Youth Conference, a conference which gained a national importance because it handled sensitive issues in Jordan related to the younger generation in our country, and how they could help the institutions to recognize the needs of the youth, the problems which they face regarding their daily life routine, for example when they go to some institutions to find a job. Those, who will be the leaders of the future, the basic pillars of the social as well as other

areas concerning the reform of the society, are put ahead by his majesty king Abdullah II. In this regard we find many examples; one of these is below:

> “On the social front, we need to work on strengthening a culture of volunteerism among youth by identifying youth voluntary work days in service institutions that need support and assistance. This helps foster the spirit of initiative and volunteerism among youth, and it strengthens their relationship with society by allowing their direct interaction with its needs and problems” (2007, The First We Are All Jordan Youth Conference)

The direction of the speech is towards social awareness; and the interaction of youth in the social work, these truthful words and great hope expressed in the above quote by the king inspire the young and the old men and women to lead a better lifestyle. What is meant here is the spirit of co-operation in the institutional work between the younger generation in Jordan, and that is because the majority of the population of Jordan is formed of youth and this is the main reason why his majesty emphasized the importance of the partnership between the governmental institutions and the youth in the scope of offering voluntary services for the institutions that need help such as the Ministry of Social Affairs, whose work extends to every village and town in Jordan. These remarks by the king will certainly make the youth feel that the head of the state is with them, feeling their problems, listening to their comments, leading the path towards a better institutional service because of the great importance given to the spirit of initiative and voluntary work, and to the change of the present ridged routine way of work in some of the governmental institutions. The importance was given to the youth hence they represent the hoped change in this old routine way of work in the near future due to the youth participation with these institutions. The effects of these directions are obvious in every district of Jordan. We see working groups of ‘We-Are-All-Jordan’ doing voluntary work, setting examples for other citizens to do the same. We see them in groups holding meetings with officials to get across their ideas of change. This would not have been done nor achieved without the vision of his majesty for the future youth so as not to be away from their community or to be separated from the general public. This positive emotion expressed to the youth by his majesty is a vision that is full of encouragement, and it pushes the youth on the national level to think positively of a better future in which they will be of a central importance. This of course is an appeal for the

audience pathos and ethics who are the youth in Jordan, and it is an appeal for them to do their best in order to make our society more unified under one vision, which is the direct interaction of the youth with their society. His majesty expressed his hopes and wishes to make a positive change in the society with the help of the youth in many areas of work.

The same idea was mentioned in previous speeches such as the speech delivered on Thursday, 27-Jul-2006 during the closing session of "We-are-all-Jordan" Forum when his majesty king Abdullah II mentioned:

> "From the beginning, the objective of this forum was the achievement of a national consensus on unchangeable established principles, coming up with a comprehensive unified vision, defining the themes that we should prioritize in implementation, and agreement on the continuation of our serious, devoted work to realize this vision and goal, through the implementation of priorities, one by one" (2006, the first We-Are-All-Jordan Youth Conference)

The importance of that is clear from the above quote; the way his majesty addresses the youth is not only for them but for the whole of the society as well; his majesty pointed out that the right track to be followed for a better future is by devoted work, unified vision of the young generation towards an improved and prosperous future for the whole of the country. The kind of language used by his majesty is simple and clear. his majesty used the optimistic way which is urging the youth to take the lead of change in the society through the close work with the institutions that are related to the community work and that is to be done step by step because as we all know a change in the lifestyle of any community can not come but gradually. His majesty appealed to the youth power to make the first step in this change and it is clear through the direct procedures to be followed by the youth. His majesty is showing them that he trusts them and that his vision of the future will be fulfilled by the dedicated work of the youth. The previous two quotes are good examples of pathos because the appeal is for the ability of the audience to make the change towards a better future and a better society by encouraging the youth interaction with service institutions in Jordan which need help, or what we call new blood to run in the veins and arteries of these institutions. Such help can make a flourishing and prosperous future depending on the sharing of the youth in voluntary work in institutions such as social care institutions which look after orphans and the needy people all over the country; the unified vision called for depends on the appeal for the massive abilities that the youth in

Jordan have. His majesty’s positive appeal to the youth’s sense of responsibilities is of great importance, because it will set for the youth a good example of commitment to work and encourages them to take the lead for a better future for their country.

The reason behind addressing the youth in particular, I think, is that they form about seventy percent of the population in Jordan, and this percentage can not be ignored. On the contrary it should be deployed in the right direction; it is of mutual interest for both the community and for the youth. For the community, it makes use of the capabilities of the youth; their free time can be used in making the present and the future better and fruitful. For the youth, it is of vital importance because it gives them the chance to: first change the negative view held by some people that our youth are unemployed and they are of no use for their society; second, it gives the youth the chance to prove their abilities in helping, not only people, but also institutions; third, it will make a change in the youth’s perception of themselves, as being productive and responsible citizens. These ideas are enhanced with importance not by any ordinary person but by the head of the state, his majesty the king. The previous examples show clearly that his majesty is appealing to the youth kindly in a clear way putting his trust in them to lead the change in the direction of enrolling in the voluntary work. It is a positive appeal because there is no threat of being penalized if they do not do what is hoped from them to do. The appeal to the audience who are the youth in these quotes gives us the representation of positive emotions expressed clearly by his majesty king Abdullah II.

**3.4.2. B. Negative emotional and ethical appeal:**

The second aspect of persuasion, as mentioned before, is a matter of great importance which is the appeal to the audience’s emotions, authority and power. The examples are clear in his majesty’s speeches on the national level. When his majesty appealed to the Islamic Ummah scientists and scholars by saying:

> “I am confident that you are aware of the challenges facing Muslims today” (2005, Islamic conference).

When somebody says to you that ‘I have confidence in you,’ it means that you are trustworthy and deserve that. In the above example, his majesty gave all the confidence to the Islamic scientists and scholars, meeting in Amman, to encourage them to do their best efforts, to find the best solutions so as to confront the mislead people who are defaming Muslims and Islam at the same time. It is time to let others know what Islam really is, to unify the Islamic Ummah. This is clear from the following quote:

> "From this arises the importance of your role and the responsibility you shoulder in unifying the Islamic Ummah, with all its schools of jurisprudence, and presenting the truth about our faith and its great message." (The speech to the Islamic conference, 2005)

Another astonishing example is from the speech delivered to the nation after the terrorist attacks on Amman, through which his majesty appealed to every citizen in Jordan to be a soldier and a security officer in facing the present attacks. Negative emotions are expressed by his majesty concerning these attacks, and at the same time his majesty considered every citizen in Jordan as a protector of the country.

> "I appeal to every citizen - man and woman - of this country to consider him or herself a soldier and a security officer. Each one of you has a responsibility to protect your country." (The speech after the terrorist attacks on Amman, 2005)

The national as well as the international communities expressed their anger about the explosions in Amman which was targeted by three explosions at hotels, and resulted in killing 67 persons and injuring hundreds. The explosions were widely deplored at the national, regional and international levels. The USA, France, and Britain strongly condemned these explosions, described them as brutal and proposed to give aid and ensure all forms of cooperation possible and expressed their "sincere condolences" to the Jordanian people. The Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas, the Syrian government, and the United Arab Emirates all deplored Jordan's explosions and described them as "a crime against humanity and the Arab man." They all expressed sympathy and solidarity with Jordan's people and government. These responses were some of the echoes that the speech of his majesty received on both the international as well as the regional level. These responses if taken from a rhetorical perspective are a testimony of the audience's pathos.

In the first two examples, his majesty addressed the audience as being the most trusted one, capable of shouldering the responsibility of clarifying the defamed picture of Islam. His majesty recognizes the audiences' power to change the present situations taking place in the Islamic Ummah. He reassures trust and confidence in the congregated scholars when he says: "I am confident that you are aware of the challenges facing Muslims today." It is clear for us that the importance of the audience competence and power is relied on by his majesty. And the importance of their responsibility towards the presented issues is

strongly highlighted by his majesty especially in the phrase "you are aware of the challenges" which imposes even a greater role on the part of the audience.

The role that must be played by the whole of the nation, the trust that his majesty put in his citizens, in those who are in the security services and their ability in fighting terrorists and the evil plans to destroy the country, the appeal to the audience is vivid from those examples, through which the feeling of trust is obvious. His majesty turns to every citizen to consider himself/herself a soldier and a security officer. This trust is of great meanings in the minds and souls of the citizens, because it makes the whole nation think about doing one thing, which is fighting terrorists to overcome evil. In the three examples the appeal was to all Jordanians in every field of work. His majesty said frankly that he is appealing to every citizen; this indicates the proof for the claim of ethos in this speech.

Remembering past sad events in order to set an example is shown to the audience to arouse the negative emotions that the speaker experienced in the past, because the mentioning of these sad events help the speaker to make the intended audience feel how he suffered from these sad events and to make use of them. What I mean by saying this is that the audience would learn from other's experience, be it a happy experience or a sad one. This mentioning will of course send a message to the audience of some sort; I mean whether to feel pity with the orator or as mentioned to learn from this experience. In our quote below his majesty is referring to the sad events and experience that the leaders of Jordan suffered in the past; one of the most tragic is the assassination of his majesty's grandfather while entering Al Aqssa Mosque, who paid the most precious price, his life, as mentioned in the second quote. His majesty king Abdullah II is referring to the sad events that all Jordanians suffered and to the great sacrifices they gave in defending our country, Jordan.

> "Since the very beginning of the Arab-Israeli conflict, Jordan has stood firmly by our Palestinian brothers and supported them. Jordan paid a steep price for this stance over the past decades, and has borne, for the sake of the Palestinian cause, a cost exceeding its capabilities and capacities. Sharif Al-Hussein Bin Ali was the first to pay a price for the defense of Palestine's Arab identity and for refusing to negotiate or concede a single Arab right. After that, our founding father sacrificed his life for this stance. As for my father, may God

> bless his soul, everybody, near and far, knows how much he suffered and how much he endured, for the sake of this cause." (Thursday, 24-May-2007 address to the Nation on the Occasion of Independence Day)

This mentioning of these sad events will certainly be considered negative emotional appeal, but it is employed cleverly towards the opposite direction. It is the avoidance of going into such sad events again by any of the Jordanian people. It is mentioned as an example to be avoided by any citizen. This would entail, of course, the appeal for the audience interests by their leader. It will make them recognize that their leader is telling them these events as a reminder to learn from. The proof from his majesty's speeches related to the above idea is mentioned in the speech on Thursday, 24-May-2007, when his majesty King Abdullah II addressed the nation on the occasion of Independence Day. It is an important occasion for the people of Jordan because it reminds them of the past events that took place on the Jordanian soil, and it gives them a vision for the future. His majesty reminded his people of the tragic events, the sacrifices paid by the Jordanian army and by the Jordanian people as well:

> "All Jordanians, regardless of their origins and affiliations, have endured, suffered and sacrificed greatly to defend the Palestinian cause. All of us know that in every Jordanian city, village or tribe there were soldiers and officers who fought bravely and honorably in Palestine's defense; and there were casualties: soldiers and officers who were wounded or martyred. Those who did not fight on the battlefield were also affected by the devastation of the wars we fought to defend Palestine… and they have paid for these wars with their suffering and their children's bread" (Thursday, 24-May-2007 address to the Nation on the Occasion of Independence Day)

His majesty mentioned the elegant history of all Jordanians in defending Palestine and the Palestinian people as well; the injuries of the brave Jordanian soldiers, of every Jordanian tribe on the soil of Jordan, who fought for the right cause of the liberation of Palestine. His majesty reminds the nation of the important role every citizen must play in

defending our soil here in Jordan; this of course leads to the best conclusions in the present and in the future. His majesty appealed to the nation by reminding them of the sad events and situations Jordan and the Jordanians had to tolerate to defend the Palestinian cause; how Jordanian soldiers lost their lives for the sake of the Palestinian cause. Is there any clear example of the negative emotional appeal clearer than this? Again this mentioning of these sad events is for the purpose of arousing and gaining the audiences' acceptance of the argument, this notion is taken as the core pillar to arouse the audience's feeling of how others had lost their lives for the sake of defending and securing the life of next generations. The idea being presented might seem history, and some people, who are not interested in learning from past experiences, will not pay attention to it, but for others, these events are great lessons, especially for the younger generation because they are the future officials, soldiers, teachers, doctors, … and the like, of this country. It is for all of these people to learn from. His majesty mentioned the highest price paid by the Hashemites in general and Sharif Al-Hussein Bin Ali in particular, who paid his life for the cause of Palestine. And he doesn't forget to mention the endurance and tolerance of the late King Hussein in the way to achieve a sustainable everlasting peace between the Palestinians and the Israelis. The negative emotions which his majesty King Abdullah II stated in this quote are mentioned to make the audience addressed remember the experience of his majesty's father The late king Hussein who endured a lot during his reign and before that his majesty's great grandfather Sharif Al-Hussein Bin Ali and their determination to achieve peace in the area. All of this is done to state the past negative experience of the speaker to make the audience think of the opposite direction, the saving of lives and the maintaining of healthy society in the future.

### 3.4.3. Logos:

Presenting the argument in a way that attracts the intended audience is one of the most important steps that should be followed by the orator in order to get his audience persuaded, which will by the end of the speech make the aimed effect, and therefore the change in attitude, will be the result. This effect on the audience is what is called persuasion. In an attempt to do that, his majesty presented the cause in the first speech by stating the present situations, the challenges that the Ummah is facing nowadays, and the defamed image of Islam caused by some ignorant Muslims either intentionally or unintentionally. In the second speech the appeal was to the whole of the nation, men and women. His majesty encouraged the Jordanian citizens, the soldiers and police officers to defend their country against the inhuman attacks on the capital Amman.

Returning to Hatim (1989), who mentioned that argumentative texts can be presented and evaluated thoroughly by the two subtypes, which are A) Through-argumentation and, B) Counter-argumentation. These two types can be applied on the two speeches as follows:

**3.4.3.A. Through-Argumentation:**

Thesis to be argued through:

> "Islam has established a basis for better human relations between individuals, nations and peoples, irrespective of differences in religion, color or gender, on the principles of tolerance and dialogue with others". (2005, Islamic conference speech)

The needed change to be made in the minds of the western countries is that related to Islam. This cannot be done by swords nor by wars, but by initiating dialogues with others. This is clear from his Majesty's words during the Islamic conference (2005). This is the kind of logic that must be set forth in the minds of the younger generations, Muslims or non-Muslims. It is the duty of the Ummah scientists and scholars to do that in order to give the bright picture of Islam and of Muslims. It will do well if this method is followed. It will lead to a better understanding between human beings.

Substantiation:

> "Some Muslims, or those who promulgate "Islamic" slogans, have defamed Islam and Muslims, and harmed Muslims, intentionally or non-intentionally." (2005, Islamic conference speech)

In a way to enhance the appeal to the logos of the audience, the above quote increases the intensity of the rejection of the idea about Islam, and at the same time it encourages scientists and scholars of the Ummah to their atmost efforts to make the desired change. As a conclusion a change will appear in the horizon because change does not happen suddenly; it takes time.

Conclusion:

> "We find it incumbent on us as Muslims, whose hearts are filled with love for God and His Prophet, to be the first to face these unjust campaigns to which Islam is presently subjected, and to be the first to call on fellow Muslims to reject discord and

> to unite their words and their positions" (2005, Islamic conference speech)

The result of all of this is that, we as Muslims must get ready to make the change being asked for, not only by his majesty King Abdullah II but it is demanded by the whole of the Islamic countries, too.

The other example is from the second speech (2005, terrorist attacks) when his majesty showed the nation and the world that Jordan has been a target for terrorism for a long time. The argument is like this, following Hatim (1989):

Thesis to be argued through:

> "Jordan has been targeted more than any other country for several reasons." (The speech after the terrorist attacks on Amman, 2005)

In this quote, his majesty declared the truth that peaceful Jordan has been targeted by terrorists more than any country in the Middle East. This declaration did not come from nothing, but it is taken from many sources of authority in the country, and evidences were collected before the attacks occurred; one of these was the loaded lorry of chemicals, which was to be used in a terrorist attack on the intelligence headquarters in Amman. But, many thanks to Allah the Mighty, it was captured in time. As a substantiation of this, his majesty King Abdullah II mentioned other reasons for the attacks on Jordan such as this mentioned in the following quote:

Substantiation:

> "its role and its message defending the essence of Islam -- the religion of moderation and tolerance that abhors the terrorists who kill innocents in Islam's name, even as Islam is innocent of such crimes." (The speech after the terrorist attacks on Amman, 2005)

The role played by the Hashemites in defending Islam is of great importance. It is not a strange thing to see his majesty continuously do as his ancestors had done before more than a thousand year. The appeal to the Ummah's scientists and scholars is based on this fact. It is kept by heart in their minds and souls.

**3.4.3. B. Counter-Argumentation:**

Applying this method on both of the speeches is of vital importance because it will reveal strongly the aspect of persuasion in the speeches of his majesty King Abdullah II of Jordan. I will take one

example from each of the two national speeches to make my claim clear to you. The first example is taken from the speech delivered during the international Islamic conference in Amman (2005), and the other is the speech which followed the terrorist attack on Jordan, which was delivered to the whole of the nation.

Thesis cited to be opposed:

> "As a start, let us confess that we, Muslims, have not always fulfilled our obligations towards our religion and towards ourselves." (2005, Islamic conference speech)

Many Muslims do not have the courage to confess that they are left behind because of lack of commitment in their worship or religious duties. Those people are the greatest danger on Islam and on themselves too. It is better first to confess that we, Muslims have not fulfilled our obligations then to start making a change. This way of presenting the logic behind this quote from the speech is in my point of view a simple, straight forward analysis; it can be understood by even the ordinary person.

Opposition:

> "We find it incumbent on us as Muslims, whose hearts are filled with love for God and His Prophet, to be the first to face these unjust campaigns to which Islam is presently subjected, and to be the first to call on fellow Muslims to reject discord and to unite their words and their positions." (2005, Islamic conference speech)

As a result of our shortage in following the rules of Islam, the outcomes were devastating on the two levels, the international and the national.

Substantiation:

> "Great Muslim scholars and trusted Muslim authorities issued fatwas - which are familiar to you - affirming that this principle is right and acceptable, because the adherents to the eight schools of thought are in agreement on the fundamental principles of Islam: they all believe in God the Almighty and Sublime, the One and Unique, that the noble Qur'an is the word of God revealed, and that our master, Muhammad, peace be upon him, is

> a Prophet and Messenger unto all mankind. All agree on the five pillars of Islam: the two testaments of faith (shahadatayn), ritual prayer (salat), almsgiving (zakat), fasting the month of Ramadan (sawm), the pilgrimage (Hajj) to the Sacred House of God, and also on the foundations of belief: belief in God and His Angels, His Scriptures, His Messengers and the Day of Judgment, in divine providence - good and evil." (2005, Islamic conference speech)

The second example is taken from the speech delivered after the terrorist attack on the hotels in Amman, Jordan (2005).

Thesis cited to be opposed:

> "Jordan does not bow to coercion." (The speech after the terrorist attacks on Amman, 2005)

This quote is a very strong announcement to all of those, who think that Jordan is weak and vulnerable; it is full of confidence in the people and the entire nation. It signals a clear warning for those who plan evil in the dark, thinking that they will succeed. To them we say you are the losers, you will be caught and brought to justice. Jordan will not be forced to bend, not if we are still a live.

Opposition:

> "There have been many countries in the region and throughout the world which have been similarly terrorized by attacks of greater scope and intensity." (The speech after the terrorist attacks on Amman, 2005)

Reassuring Jordanians, his majesty mentioned that other countries in the world have suffered greater effects caused by terrorists. By this he, in an indirect way, is saying that we are fortified with faith in our citizens and all of the other institutions in Jordan as well.

Substantiation:

> "To the contrary, every act of terrorism strengthens our resolve to adhere to our convictions, and to confront, with all means at our disposal, those who seek to undermine the security and stability of this country." (The speech after the terrorist attacks on Amman, 2005)

The above quote represents the result which is to be kept in the minds of every terrorist who thinks that, next time he will do better. No,

he will be faced by a great wall of defense, built from the bodies of all Jordanians who will give their lives defending this great country as he made it clear in the following conclusion of the thesis presented and substantiated in his argument.

Conclusion:

> “I am confident that the patriots of Jordan - men and women - will maintain, as they always have, a watchful eye over the country and its security, and will be the first line of defense in protecting Jordan and its achievements. Jordan will continue, with the help of God and the determination of its people, to overcome evil.” (The speech after the terrorist attacks on Amman, 2005)

**3.5. Summary and Recommendation**

The conclusion is very great, on the national level all Jordanians— men and women–will be what his majesty asked them to be: A watchful eye over the country and the first line of defense in protecting Jordan and its achievements. It has been shown that the aspect of persuasion as defined in Aristotelian rhetoric, namely pathos, ethos, logos, are fundamental elements. Also appeals to pathos took different forms: positive and negative. The appeals to ethos followed four basic approaches (metaphor, strengthening the cause, storytelling, evoking ethical emotions). Logos on the other hand demanded the use of different approaches to get across to the audiences’ mind. Both Through-Argumentation and Counter-Argumentation were employed to strengthen the points of the speeches.

Persuasion is dominant in the speeches of his majesty King Abdullah II. It has been shown that the aspect of persuasion as All of the previously mentioned examples prove in no doubt that the aspect of persuasion is present and that it can be clearly felt when reading the speeches of his majesty King Abdullah II of Jordan. The echoes of the speeches of his majesty were on both levels, national and international, and these represent, from a rhetorical point of view, the audience’s pathos, which in turn, is a representation of the aspect of persuasion in the speech. In this regard, it is imperative to mention some of these opinions in the following paragraphs as appeared in the mass media (Al-Rai newspaper, 2007-3-8)

The King of Bahrain, Hamad bin Essa AAL khalifah, during a phone call with his majesty Abdullah II extended his appreciation and

admiration of the speech, which represents a testimony to the great impact the speech has on other Arab leaders.

The president of the Republic of Iraq, Jallal Al –Talibani, who described the speech as “it has expressed in truth, clearness and candidly to the American congress, the situations, and the facts in the area, and it has cleverly pinpointed what must be done to change these conditions in the region.” (Al-Rai newspaper, 2007-3-8)

President Mahmud Abass of Palestine expressed his gratitude to his majesty King Abdullah II for the brave speech through which, the cause of disturbance and segregation in the whole area, the one kept away from the lights of the political agenda of the great countries of the world especially America, the cause of Palestine is returned back strongly by the deed of the courageous King, who turned the attention of the American people towards this issue, which has been in the back drawer of the agenda for more than fifty years.

On the international level, the historical speech of his majesty received great appreciation by presidents and head of states world wide which is an indicator of the aspect of pathos related to that of persuasion. If the speech had not make a massive influence on both of the national and the international levels, it wouldn’t have been considered as such by many of those leaders. President Berevez Mushar'raf of Pakistan, who in a telephone call with his majesty King Abdullah II, extended his admiration of what the speech has expressed, of the supporting efforts of the Palestinian cause and in finding the best solutions for this issue since it is considered the core case in the middle East. (Al-Rai newspaper, 2007-3-8)

The importance of the timing as well as the content of each speech were evident on all levels, national and international, for example the American ambassador in Jordan, David Hale, said that ‘the rare opportunity given to his majesty to address the joint houses of the American Congress is a reflection of the great respect that his majesty enjoys in the whole world in general and in the United States of America in specific.’ His majesty is only the forth Arab leader to stand facing the Congress. (Al-Rai newspaper, 2007-3-8)

The centrality of the Jordanian role was mentioned by the Ambassador in the American Foreign Ministry James Jeffrey who said that “Jordan plays a central role in both, the cause of Middle East issues... and that contribute significantly to the political and economic reform in the region and the peace process". This explanation is due to what his majesty has made clear in the minds of both the American people and politicians alike; we read these comments and great influence from those whom the speech was directed to. (Al-Rai newspaper, 2007-3-8)

The journalist in the Atlantic newspaper, David Samuel, said that his majesty the king took the place of his father, who was among the American people a model of leaders whom people wait to hear their opinion. He added that people are enthusiastic to see the king and heed and listen to what his majesty has to say about Palestine and the American intervention in the Middle East. (Al-Rai newspaper, 2007-3-8)

His majesty's speech reaffirms a fact mentioned in the previous speech, though it was a year before, yet the same emphasis is prominent in facing the danger of neglecting the core issue in the Middle East, Palestine and Iraq as well. The magnificent reputation his majesty enjoys in the whole world as well as being a representative of all Arab leaders made his appeal even stronger in the minds of the American and the British communities and policy decision makers. This in turn led to a comprehensive understanding of the logical appeal throughout the speeches his majesty delivered in those, and other countries. (Al-Rai newspaper, 2007-3-8)

The effect of persuasion with its three main aspects will work in harmony. I mean there can be no separation between the three aspects of persuasion, ethos, pathos and logos. Put in another way, the orator can not only state the aspect of ethos, because that would be considered as a praise of oneself, nor can he present pathos alone, because that would be considered as if one is asking for forgiveness for something wrong, which the orator has done. It would be considered as if someone is a lawyer when presenting logos alone. It is, then, important for the orator to make the three aspects work together to fulfill the aim that is behind the speech in the first hand.

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**Appendix (I)**
**The National speeches**
**Represents the National Speeches dated from 2005-2007**

| Number | Date | City | Occasion | Country |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | 26-1-2005 | Amman | Address to the nation presenting His Majesty's vision for the process of political, economic, social and administrative reform that His Majesty embarked upon five years ago, and which constitutes Jordanian's path towards the aspired-for development. | Jordan |
| 2. | 18-5-2005 | Petra | Remarks by His Majesty King Abdullah II during the Nobel Laureates Meeting | Jordan |
| 3. | 20-5-2005 | Dead Sea | Remarks by His Majesty King Abdullah II at the Opening Session of the World Economic Forum in Jordan 2005 | Jordan |
| 4. | 22-5-2005 | Dead Sea | His Majesty King Abdullah II Closing Remarks at the World Economic Forum. | Jordan |
| 5. | 6-6-2005 | Amman | Talk of His Majesty King Abdullah II Bin Al-Hussein to officers of the Armed Forces and Security Institutions. | Jordan |
| 6. | 4-7-2005 | Amman | His Majesty King Abdullah II's Address to the International Islamic Conference. | Jordan |
| 7. | 16-8-2005 | Amman | His Majesty's Address to National Leaders. | Jordan |
| 8. | 10-11-2005 | Amman | His Majesty King Abdullah's address to the nation on the occasion of the terrorist attacks on the capital Amman. | Jordan |
| 9. | 11.11.2005 | Amman | King condoles Chinese victims of Amman terror attacks. | Jordan |
| 10. | 25-5-2006 | Amman | The Address of His Majesty King Abdullah II on the 60th Anniversary of Jordan's Independence. | Jordan |
| 11. | 7-6-2006 | Karak | Address of His Majesty King Abdullah II on the Graduation Ceremony of the 19th Military and Police Sciences Classes of Mu'tah University | Jordan |
| 12. | 12-6-2006 | Amman | Remarks of HM King Abdullah II to 2nd World Congress for Middle East Studies (WOCMES) (Delivered by HRH Prince | Jordan |

|  |  |  | Ghazi Bin Mohammed) |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 13. | 21-6-2006 | Petra | Remarks by His Majesty King Abdullah II during the Second Conference of Nobel Laureates | Jordan |
| 14. | 24-6-2006 | Amman | His Majesty King Abdullah II's Address to the Opening of the Annual Islamic Fiqh Academy Conference | Jordan |
| 15. | 12-7-2006 | Dead sea | Speech of His Majesty King Abdullah to the Preliminary Meeting for “We are all Jordan” Forum | Jordan |
| 16. | 26-7-2006 | Dead sea | His Majesty King Abdullah II's Remarks During the Opening Session of “We are all Jordan” Forum | Jordan |
| 17. | 27-7-2006 | Dead sea | His Majesty King Abdullah II's Remarks during the Closing Session of “We are all Jordan” Forum | Jordan |
| 18. | 18-11-2006 | Amman | Remarks by His Majesty King Abdullah II at the State Banquet on the Occasion of the Visit of the President of the Republic of Singapore, H.E. S.R. Nathan | Jordan |
| 19 | 26-11-2006 | Dead sea | Remarks by His Majesty King Abdullah II Opening the Young Arab Leaders Forum | Jordan |
| 20 | 15-5-2007 | Petra | Remarks by His Majesty King Abdullah II at the Petra III Nobel Laureates Meeting | Jordan |
| 21 | 17-5-2007 | Aqaba | Remarks by His Majesty King Abdullah II Peace Group Meeting | Jordan |
| 22 | 18-5-2007 | Dead Sea | Opening Remarks by His Majesty King Abdullah II - World Economic Forum on the Middle East | Jordan |
| 23 | 19-5-2007 | Dead Sea | Remarks by His Majesty King Abdullah II During the G-11 Summit | Jordan |
| 24 | 24-5-2007 | Amman | His Majesty King Abdullah II's Address to the Nation on the Occasion of Independence Day | Jordan |
| 25 | 7-6-2007 | Karak | His Majesty King Abdullah II's Address during the Graduation of the 20th Regiment of the Abdullah Bin Ruwaha Battalion | Jordan |
| 26 | 16-9-2007 | Dead Sea | Remarks by His Majesty King Abdullah II at the first We Are All Jordan Youth Conference | Jordan |
| 27 | 3-10- | Zarqa | Remarks by His Majesty King Abdullah II | Jordan |

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|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 2007 | | at the Armed Forces Iftar during the holy month of Ramadan. | |
| 28. | 17-11-2007 | Dead sea | Remarks to the Opening Ceremony of the 8th Meeting of States Parties to the Mine Ban Convention | Jordan |

## Appendix (II)
## The International Speeches
International speeches from 2005-2007Appendix (II)
The International Speeches
International speeches from 2005-2007

| Numb er | Date | City | Occasion | Country |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | 25-2-2005 | Hambur g | Remarks by His Majesty King Abdullah II at Matthiae-Mahlzeit Dinner banquet. | Germany |
| 2. | 17-3-2005 | Washing ton | Press Statement by His Majesty King Abdullah II announcing the Petra Conference of Nobel Laureates. | U.S.A. |
| 3 | 21-3-2005 | Washing ton | Remarks by His Majesty King Abdullah II Georgetown University, referring to the challenges our nation is facing and the historical ties between Jordan and the United States. | U.S.A. |
| 4. | 23-3-2005 | New York | Remarks by His Majesty King Abdullah II at the Ceremony Presenting the Franklin Delano Roosevelt International Disability Award to the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. | U.S.A. |
| 5. | 27-4-2005 | Singapor e | Remarks by His Majesty King Abdullah II at the Asia-Middle East Business Forum. | Singapor e |
| 6. | 28-4-2005 | Singapor e | Remarks by His Majesty King Abdullah II in the World Economic Forum Asia Roundtable | Singapor e |
| 7 | 10-5-2005 | Brasilia | Remarks of His Majesty King Abdullah II at the Summit of South American-Arab Countries (Speech delivered by HRH Prince Ali bin Al-Hussein who deputized for His Majesty at the summit) | Brazil |
| 8.. | 9-6-2005 | Chicago | King Abdullah II Annual Leadership Lecture | U.S.A. |
| 9. | 3-9-2005 | Chicago | Islamic Society of North America's annual convention. | U.S.A. |
| 10 | 13-9-2005 | Washing ton | Excerpts from His Majesty King Abdullah II's remarks to Catholic University of America | U.S.A. |
| 11. | 14-9-2005 | New York | Remarks by His Majesty King Abdullah II Economic Club of New York | U.S.A. |

| 12. | 16-9-2005 | New York | Remarks by His Majesty King Abdullah II at the United Nations' 2005 World Summit | U.S.A. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 13. | 28-11-2005 | Barcelona | His Majesty King Abdullah II Remarks during the Euro-Mediterranean Summit in Barcelona | Spain |
| 14. | 3-12-2005 | Washington D.C | Video Message from His Majesty King Abdullah II to the 11th Annual Banquet of the Council on American-Islamic Relations (**CAIR**) | U.S.A. |
| 15. | 15-12-2005 | Bangkok | Remarks by His Majesty King Abdullah II in Chulalongkorn University | Thailand |
| 16 | 21-12-2005 | Athens | Remarks by His Majesty King Abdullah II Athens-Amman Municipality Agreement | Greece |
| 17. | 2-2-2006 | Washington | Remarks by His Majesty King Abdullah II - National Prayer Luncheon | U.S.A. |
| 18. | 3-2-2006 | Oxford Mississippi | Remarks by His Majesty King Abdullah II at Gertrude Castellow Ford Center - University of Mississippi | U.S.A. |
| 19. | 20-3-2006 | Paris | Remarks by His Majesty King Abdullah II European-American Press Club | France |
| 20. | 28-5-2006 | Deerfield, Massachusetts | Remarks by His Majesty King Abdullah II 2006 Deerfield Commencement | U.S.A. |
| 21. | 19-9-2006 | New York | Remarks by His Majesty King Abdullah II during the Arab and American Action Forum | U.S.A. |
| 22. | 19-9-2006 | New York | Remarks by His Majesty King Abdullah II to the 61st General Assembly of the United Nations | U.S.A. |
| 23. | 20-9-2006 | New York | Remarks by His Majesty King Abdullah II Opening the G11 / Lower-Middle Income Countries Summit | U.S.A. |
| 24. | 21-9-2006 | New York | Remarks by His Majesty King Abdullah II During the Clinton Global Initiative Annual Dinner | U.S.A. |
| 25. | 30-10-2006 | The Hague | Remarks by His Majesty King Abdullah II to the Parliament of The Netherlands, The Hague | Netherlands |
| 26. | 30-10- | The | His Majesty King Abdullah II Speech at | Netherla |

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| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | 2006 | Hague | the Noordeinde Palace State Banquet, The Hague | nds |
| 27. | 31-10-2006 | The Hague | His Majesty King Abdullah II Speech at the Prime Minister's Luncheon | Netherlands |
| 28. | 31-10-2006 | The Hague | Remarks by His Majesty King Abdullah II at the International Court of Justice, The Hague | Netherlands |
| 29. | 31-10-2006 | Amsterdam | A Message of Peace and Understanding Among Peoples | Netherlands |
| 30. | 7-11-2006 | London | Remarks by His Majesty King Abdullah II in the Houses of Parliament | U.K |
| 31. | 30-11-2006 | New Delhi | Remarks by His Majesty King Abdullah II to the Indian Council of World Affairs | India |
| 32. | 22-12-2006 | Tokyo | Remarks by His Majesty King Abdullah II at the Japan Institute of International Affairs | Japan |
| 33. | 26-1-2007 | Davos | Special Address by His Majesty King Abdullah II at the World Economic Forum | Switzerland |
| 34. | 7-3-2007 | Washington D.C | Address by His Majesty King Abdullah II to the Joint Meeting of Congress | U.S.A. |
| 35. | 27-4-2007 | Singapore | Remarks by His Majesty King Abdullah II Arab Asian Dialogue Forum | Singapore |
| 36. | 13-7-2007 | Ottawa | Remarks by His Majesty King Abdullah II at the Canadian Foreign Ministry's Pearson Building | Canada |
| 37 | 30-10-2007 | Beijing | Remarks by His Majesty King Abdullah II at Peking University, Mutual relations and ties between Jordan and China. | China |
| 38 | 31-10-2007 | Shanghai | Remarks by His Majesty King Abdullah II at the Jordan Investment Forum | China |
| 39. | 31-10-2007 | Beijing | Luncheon Remarks by His Majesty King Abdullah II Marking the30-Year Anniversary of Diplomatic Ties | China |
| 40. | 12-12-2007 | Strasbourg | Speech by His Majesty King Abdullah II to the European Parliament | France |
| 41. | 13-11-2007 | Bremen | Remarks by His Majesty King Abdullah II at the 7th German Foreign Trade Congress 2007 | Germany |

# Appendix (III)

## National speeches used in the study

Date: Sunday, 16-Sep-2007
Location: King Hussein Convention Center
City: Dead Sea
Country: Jordan

Remarks by His Majesty King Abdullah II at the first We Are All Jordan Youth Conference

My brothers, the youth,
Kul Aam Wa Antum Bikhair,
May God grant you good health,

This meeting is to emphasize our commitment to support the We Are All Jordan Youth initiative, the objective of which is to empower youth to actively participate in building our nation.

I have followed with great interest all the activities and initiatives the youth commission has undertaken, especially those dedicated to supporting and funding youth creativity, excellence, entrepreneurialism and partnerships with local communities and job training opportunities.

Today, I am proud of your achievements during the founding phase, during which you identified the general framework for the operation of the commission and mechanisms for communication with youth in order to launch numerous initiatives and transform them into practical achievements whose impact is felt by your peers and society.

What I have seen and heard in terms of dialogue and discussion as part of this national forum strengthened my conviction that Jordanian youth are rich with promising leaders.

My brothers,

Over the next phase, I would like you to work with the same seriousness and authentic Jordanian determination, focusing on the role of youth in all spheres of building and development so that Jordan will remain an example of ability, excellence, creativity and achievement.

The biggest challenge before you during the next phase is to institutionalize the role of youth in several fields, most importantly by building real partnerships with political institutions such as the government, parliament and civil society institutions. This is necessary to polish youth skills and prepare effective and capable leadership that is able to take initiative and build the present and the future.

In this regard, I have over the past months included youth in many of my visits abroad, and on many of my field trips locally. We would like to involve the greatest number of youth possible in this experience.

On the social front, we need to work on strengthening a culture of volunteerism among youth by identifying youth voluntary work days in service institutions that need support and assistance. This helps foster the spirit of initiative and volunteerism among youth, and it strengthens their relationship with society by allowing their direct interaction with its needs and problems.

More important than all of this is the constant communication with youth in all governorates in order to spread awareness, training and guidance in the professional fields of their choice. This can be done through finding institutionalized channels for communication between youth and the private sector to provide job opportunities and through professional guidance offices in all universities.

Once again, many thanks and appreciation for your good efforts. I hope you will convey my regards and pride to all your brothers and sisters throughout the nation. I want you to be assured that our support for youth is boundless and is a fundamental principle of our political doctrine and reflects our conviction in the important role that youth play in building the nation and its future.

My God bless you all and grant you good health.

Date: Thursday, 27-Jul-2006
Location: Dead Sea
City: Dead Sea
Country: Jordan

His Majesty King Abdullah II's Remarks during the Closing Session of "We are all Jordan" Forum

In the Name of God, the Most Merciful, the Compassionate

Dear Brothers,

May God grant you good health.

I am happy about the great achievement that has been made over these two days, and proud of the team spirit and sense of responsibility that prevailed over this forum. It has been a major reason for its success.

From the beginning, the objective of this forum was the achievement of a national consensus on unchangeable established principles, coming up with a comprehensive unified vision, defining the themes that we should prioritize in implementation, and agreement on the continuation of our serious, devoted work to realize this vision and goal, through the implementation of priorities, one by one.

The dangers and conflicts that I have warned about during our previous meetings are now before us, on the ground. To cope with regional and sectarian conflicts, we must strengthen and consolidate our internal front. All of us should work as one hand and one heart in confronting these dangers, by preserving our national unity, which is today at the top of our national priorities. I want everyone to know that our preoccupation with our national causes will not be at the expense of our commitment to our nationalistic and historic responsibilities toward our brethren in Palestine, Lebanon and Iraq; this is a natural continuation of our role as Hashemites throughout history.

I have worked for a long time, and I am still working to find a unified Arab stance concerning these challenges and dangers that now encircle this nation, so that the Arab role in the region will not be marginalized, thus curtailing all of our capabilities to extend support and assistance to our brothers in Palestine, Iraq and Lebanon.

Now we have one vision of what we hope to realize, over the next period, in the political, economic and social fields.

In the political field, there is agreement on the preservation of national unity, on enhancing the concept of Jordan as a country that reflects the moderate, mainstream Islam, believes in peace, coexistence, tolerance and intellectual and political pluralism, on inclusion in decision-making and building civil society institutions including national political parties that are capable of nurturing and consolidating the concept of national belonging and the importance of productive and efficient work.

Everybody should know that our aim is clear, and that there is no disagreement over it, except, perhaps as to mechanisms, ways and means to realize it.

In the economic and social fields, there is agreement and unanimity on realizing our people's ambitions for a free, dignified life, and on the importance of providing opportunities for youth, for work, creativity and production.

Now, it is time for work, follow-up and achievement.

At the beginning, the government should lead this process, and I am sure that it will begin drafting the relevant laws and policies in accordance with the priorities you have agreed on. I am also sure that Parliament will be responsible and efficient in finalizing the draft laws presented by the government to the next extraordinary session.

Other institutions - parties, professional associations, the media, the private sector and the rest of the civil society institutions - will also be guided by this national unanimity, and will play their roles in work and achievement.

I want to assure you that this spirit of cooperative work will continue in the future and that the immutable principles, on which there was consensus among you, will be the basis of all of our work.

In response to your request, a commission will be set up that includes representatives from government institutions and civil society. The We Are All Jordan Commission will be an advisory body whose work will not transgress that of our constitutional institutions, which I am the most keen to protect along with our Constitution. This advisory body will present periodical reports on the work being done and measure progress.

It is my hope that the deputies in particular, being the representatives of all our citizens, will convey to those who elected them, and to their constituents, everything that has taken place here, and everything that we do, whether for our people and homeland, or for our nation and our Arab brethren.

Again, I am proud of what has been achieved in this forum, and of the unanimity that was realized concerning the need to confront all forms of violence and terrorism, to adhere to the truth of Islam, which calls for peace, tolerance, mercy and respect for humanity, and every individual's right to live in freedom, dignity and security.

May God bless you all, and may God grant you good health; God willing, we will keep in touch

Date: Thursday, 10-Nov-2005
Location: Amman
City: Amman
Country: Jordan

His Majesty King Abdullah's address to the nation

I would like to begin by extending my profound condolences to the families of all the innocent victims who were killed, and we are praying for a swift recovery for all of those who were injured.

This is not the first time that Jordan has been a target of terrorism. It is also not the only country that has been a victim of terrorism; there have been many countries in the region and throughout the world which have been similarly terrorized by attacks of greater scope and intensity.

We know, however, that Jordan has been targeted more than any other country for several reasons, among them, its role and its message defending the essence of Islam -- the religion of moderation and tolerance that abhors the terrorists who kill innocents in Islam's name, even as Islam is innocent of such crimes.

Let it be clear to everyone that we will pursue these terrorists and those who aide them; we will reach them wherever they are, pull them from their lairs and submit them to justice.

Jordan does not bow to coercion. We will not be intimidated into altering our position, nor will we abandon our convictions or forfeit our role in the fight against terrorism in all its forms. To the contrary, every act of terrorism strengthens our resolve to adhere to our convictions, and to confront, with all means at our disposal, those who seek to undermine the security and stability of this country.

Our confidence in the security services and their ability to protect the security of this country and its stability remains unwavering. We have succeeded in preventing many planned attacks on this country. For every infrequent success terrorists have had in carrying out one of their crimes, we have had many more successes in foiling their plots.

I appeal to every citizen - man and woman - of this country to consider himself or herself a soldier and a security officer. Each one of you has a

responsibility to protect your country. Circumstances require each and every citizen to be cautious and vigilant, and to cooperate with the security services to prevent any attack on the security and stability of this country. We must be united in confronting these terrorists, who have neither a religion nor a conscience.

I am confident that the patriots of Jordan - men and women - will maintain, as they always have, a watchful eye over the country and its security, and will be the first line of defense in protecting Jordan and its achievements. Jordan will continue, with the help of God and the determination of its people, to overcome evil.

Finally, all my thanks and appreciation go to our security, military and civil institutions, as well as to the citizens of Jordan who have acted as one in confronting the attacks on our precious capital, Amman.

Date: Monday, 04-Jul-2005
Location:
City: Amman
Country: Jordan

His Majesty King Abdullah II's Address to the International Islamic Conference

In the name of God, the most merciful, the compassionate

And praise be to God, Lord of all worlds; prayers and peace be upon our master, Muhammad, and on all his house and companions,
Distinguished scholars,
Honoured ladies and gentlemen,
Peace, God's mercy and blessings be upon you,

It is a real pleasure for me to welcome you at your meeting today in Amman, to discuss the different issues and challenges facing the Muslim Ummah (nation). You are most welcome, guests and scholars, for whom we hold respect and appreciation.
Dear Brothers,
Over the ages, Islam has established a basis for better human relations between individuals, nations and peoples, irrespective of differences in religion, colour or gender, on the principles of tolerance and dialogue with others; this was meant for the good of mankind, everywhere, at all times. Yet today, the Ummah is defamed, abused and falsely accused when it comes to discussions of the Ummah's role in this age.
As a start, let us confess that we, Muslims, have not always fulfilled our obligations towards our religion and towards ourselves. Some Muslims, or those who promulgate “Islamic” slogans, have defamed Islam and Muslims, and harmed Muslims, intentionally or non-intentionally.
The divisions between the children of the Ummah, acts of violence and terrorism practiced by some groups and organizations, what is going on in Iraq, Pakistan and other Muslim countries in the form of accusations of apostasy and the killing of Muslims in the name of Islam, do not correspond to the principles and spirit of Islam, and Islam disavows them. Such practices generate turmoil and corruption on earth, because they give justification to non-Muslims to judge Islam according to acts that Islam disavows, and subsequently interfere in Muslims' affairs.
We find it incumbent on us as Muslims, whose hearts are filled with love for God and His Prophet, to be the first to face these unjust campaigns to which Islam is presently subjected, and to be the first to call on fellow Muslims to reject discord and to unite their words and their positions.

Thus came the Amman Message which was launched by us in the holy month of Ramadan last year, from the Hashimiyyeen Mosque in Amman. Then we called for convening this conference in which representatives of the eight Muslim schools of thought (Madhahib) congregate from different countries to discuss the many issues and challenges to the Ummah and to specify fundamental basic solutions to overcome them.

The first, and most important of these challenges, is unifying the position of the adherents to the eight Islamic schools of thought: the four Sunni schools, the Ja`fari Shi`i school, the Ibadi school, the Zaydi school and the Thahiri school. We can begin by acknowledging that, in the practice of their faith, the adherents to each of these eight schools of jurisprudence are practicing true Islam, and that declaring any one of them an apostate is unacceptable. Disagreement among scholars (ulama) is a blessing. Let us follow the example of Imam al-Shafi`i's saying: our school of thought is right, but might be wrong, and other schools of thought are wrong, but might be right.

Great Muslim scholars and trusted Muslim authorities issued fatwas - which are familiar to you - affirming that this principle is right and acceptable, because the adherents to the eight schools of thought are in agreement on the fundamental principles of Islam: they all believe in God the Almighty and Sublime, the One and Unique, that the noble Qur'an is the word of God revealed, and that our master, Muhammad, peace be upon him, is a Prophet and Messenger unto all mankind. All agree on the five pillars of Islam: the two testaments of faith (shahadatayn), ritual prayer (salat), almsgiving (zakat), fasting the month of Ramadan (sawm), the pilgrimage (Hajj) to the Sacred House of God, and also on the foundations of belief: belief in God and His Angels, His Scriptures, His Messengers and the Day of Judgement, in divine providence - good and evil.

Disagreement between scholars is only with respect to some of the ancillary branches of religion (furu') which came into light after the death of our master, the Prophet, peace be upon him. These disagreements originated with matters pertaining to worldly and political affairs of the Caliphate. The fatwas of the prominent scholars of the Islamic Ummah also accepted as legitimate all forms of worship practiced by adherents to the eight Islamic schools of thought in accordance with their own Madhab, and the Grand Imam of al-Azhar's fatwa included that moderate Sufi thought is acceptable as long as it is based on the two testaments of faith that God is the One and Unique and that Muhammad is Allah's messenger, and as long as it adheres to the five pillars of Islam and the Holy Quran.

Acknowledgement of the schools of jurisprudence within Islam would permit the emergence of a fundamental methodology in the issuance of fatwas, and the definition of who is qualified for this undertaking. This, with God's will, would end the practice of defaming others as apostates and close the door on ignorant people who practice killing and terrorism - of which Islam is innocent - in the name of Islam.

Honourable scholars,

You meet today with so many issues and challenges facing the Ummah on your agenda. You are, with God's guidance, qualified to deal with these issues and challenges, and to define Islam's position on each one of them. Primary among our obligations as Muslims is to present to the world the true essence of Islam - the religion of moderation, forgiveness, mercy and rational, scientific dialogue. Islam is not the religion of violence and terrorism, or prejudice and isolation. God Almighty says: "Call unto the way of thy Lord with wisdom and fair exhortation, and reason with them in the better way. Lo! Thy lord is best aware of him who strayeth from His way, and He is best aware of those who go aright" (al-Nahl: 125).

Islam provided us with rules to best protect human rights and to guard man's freedom and his human dignity, irrespective of his religion, gender or colour. God Almighty says:
"O mankind! Lo! We have created you male and female, and have made you nations and tribes that ye may know one another. Lo! The noblest of you, in the sight of Allah, is the best in conduct. Lo! Allah is knower, Aware" (al-Hujurat: 13).

Islam emphasized the need to respect the rights of minorities and non-Muslims who live within Muslim society. It established for us a clear methodology to honor relations, conventions and agreements between Muslims and other nations and peoples. God Almighty says:
"And keep the covenant. Lo! Of the covenant it will be asked" (al-Isra':34).

Islam does not accept prejudice and isolation, but calls upon us to seek scholarship and knowledge. God Almighty says:
"Are those who know equal with those who know not" (al-Zumar: 9)

It also calls us to be open to others, and to benefit from their experiences in all fields of life.

God Almighty says:
"Ask the followers of the Remembrance if ye know not" (al-Nahl:43).

Distinguished Scholars,

I am confident that you are aware of the challenges facing Muslims today, and of the malicious attack on Islam, through slander and misrepresentation, due to some Muslims' lack of understanding of the

essence of their religion, and the ignorance of many non-Muslims of the nature and noble values of our religion.

From this arises the importance of your role, and the responsibility you shoulder in unifying the Islamic Ummah, with all its schools of jurisprudence, and presenting the truth about our faith and its great message.

May God, the Almighty and Sublime, grant all of us success in serving our religion and our Ummah, and unifying the Islamic nation.

Peace, God's mercy and blessings be upon you

Date: Thursday, 24-May-2007
Location: Zahran Palace
City: Amman
Country: Jordan

His Majesty King Abdullah II's Address to the Nation on the Occasion of Independence Day

In the name of God, the most merciful, the compassionate

Dear brothers and sisters,

Allow to me extend my greet you and wish everyone in the homeland many happy returns.

On this blessed day, I convey my congratulations. While we celebrate a precious occasion, dear to every citizen, man and woman, of our united Jordanian family, of the children and grandchildren of the patriots who started our homeland's march, who made the greatest sacrifices for independence, and whose great achievements are the foundation of our proud country, Jordan… the country that embodies the message and principles of the Great Arab Revolt which was led by the father of revolutionaries and the father of the free, the Hashemite Sharif Al-Hussein Bin Ali, may God bless his soul, who sacrificed everything for the sake of the Revolt. And as a sign of faithfulness to those men, we stand firm in abiding by the principles, stances and message for which they offered their sacrifices.

The most appropriate celebration of independence is building on our founders' achievements by moving forward with our vision for a strong, prosperous and invincible Jordan, where our children and grandchildren enjoy freedom, security and a decent life.

Every citizen of the homeland has the duty to contribute, each according to his or her own capacity, to the realization of our vision of Jordan's future. All are partners in this march, and partners in a society of justice, equality and equal opportunity. We are all Jordan, and we are all for Jordan.

At home, brothers, we remain committed to our pledge to realize comprehensive development. We are moving forward, praise be to God,

with sure steps to ensure that our youth enjoy a decent life, and to build a strong economy that draws on our human resources, for which we are providing training and development. Our vision for education and capacity building is very clear, and in spite of all the challenges and constraints, achievements are being realized in all areas.

With Jordanians' resolve and determination, with serious, diligent work, we will realize all our ambitions, God willing.

Our natural resources may be limited, and regional conditions may be challenging, but God forbid that these should be cause for hesitation or an excuse for laxity.

We are keen to enhance and entrench our democratic march, and to activate the role of civil society and respect the principle of pluralism, within the framework of national unity. Pluralism and diversity are tributaries that enrich our society, and enable citizens to be free to choose and express themselves.

Municipal elections are ahead of us this summer, to be followed by parliamentary elections. This, as I have said before, is a reaffirmation of our abidance by the articles of the Constitution, and our keenness to enable citizens' participation in decision making.

Here allow me to reiterate that public service is about answering a call to duty and assuming responsibility. It is not just about gaining prestige. Public service requires knowledge and experience. It also demands that personal interests be subordinated to the national public good. In this context, the upcoming elections will constitute a chance for every citizen in this country to express the true concept of citizenship and belonging; whether by running for elections or by voting for their representatives in the municipality or parliament.

Every citizen owes it to the homeland to exercise his or her right to vote. To elect is an expression of trust that every citizen should place with those who deserve it… people known for their honesty, efficiency and sense of belonging. Let no one be deceived by flashy slogans, nor by endless promises.

The duty of deputies is to monitor and legislate. Every deputy represents the entire homeland, not just a single neighborhood or tribe or party. An intrinsic part of every deputy's role as a monitor is to fight favoritism and nepotism, not to practice or turn a blind eye to them.

We need a parliament that shares the nation's vision for the next stage of development, and understands the need for legislation appropriate to this stage.

Dear brothers and sisters,

Since the very beginning of the Arab-Israeli conflict, Jordan has stood firmly by our Palestinian brothers and supported them. Jordan paid a steep price for this stance over the past decades, and has borne, for the sake of the Palestinian cause, a cost exceeding its capabilities and capacities. Sharif Al-Hussein Bin Ali was the first to pay a price for the defense of Palestine's Arab identity and for refusing to negotiate or concede a single Arab right. After that, our founding father sacrificed his life for this stance. As for my father, may God bless his soul, everybody, near and far, knows how much he suffered and how much he endured, for the sake of this cause.

All Jordanians, regardless of their origins and affiliations, have endured, suffered and sacrificed greatly to defend the Palestinian cause. All of us know that in every Jordanian city, village or tribe there were soldiers and officers who fought bravely and honorably in Palestine's defense; and there were casualties: soldiers and officers who were wounded or martyred. Those who did not fight on the battlefield were also affected by the devastation of the wars we fought to defend Palestine… and they have paid for these wars with their suffering and their children's bread.

In spite of all these sacrifices, Jordan and the Jordanians, and Hashemite Kings, were unfairly accused; their role was doubted, their sacrifices denied. They were even accused of treason.

Today, after so many long years, events and history have proven the authenticity of the Jordanian stance; and the world and Arab brethren today recognize the honorable role which Jordan - her leadership and her people alike - played, and the tremendous sacrifices they made.

We do not say this to defend our position, nor to outbid the stances of others, as others do. And we do not seek gratitude. We did our duty, and we therefore do not expect to be thanked. We say this on our Independence Day so that Jordanian citizens will always remember that this country has never neglected its duties towards the Arab nation, or toward the Palestinian cause. Jordanian citizens have the right to hold their heads up high and keep them high.

Today, we again reaffirm that Jordan will continue to defend Arab rights in Palestine, until the day the Palestinian people regain their rights in full, and establish their independent state on their soil, and enjoy, in that state, freedom, independence and decent life. Jordan will continue its diplomacy, using every possible forum around the world to call for the realization of permanent and comprehensive peace that guarantees rights and preserves dignity of those to whom these rights are due.

There is today an international sense of urgency, and an Arab political will, to settle this issue justly, through a two-state solution. Here we have the Arab Peace Initiative, unanimously approved by the Arabs at the Beirut Summit of 2002, and reaffirmed by the Riyadh Summit… this Initiative is based on international resolutions and does not forfeit a single Arab right… It offers a real opportunity to regain Palestinian and Arab rights, and to establish an independent Palestinian state.

This opportunity must be seized. The world's compassion for the Palestinian people, its conviction that this suffering should be ended and its support for the Arab Peace Initiative must be capitalized upon before it is too late and we loose this historic opportunity, as we have lost other opportunities before.

Accordingly, we will continue to support this Initiative and promote it throughout the international community, including Israel.

When we talk about the Palestinian issue, and call on the world to commit itself to ending the injustice which the Palestinian people suffer, and pressure Israel to accept this Initiative, we are not speaking on the Palestinians' behalf. We are neither a substitute for them, nor are we their guardian. Our only goal is to help them regain their rights and establish their independent state on their Palestinian land. As I said, this is our duty, and that of all Arabs and Muslims. The Palestinian issue concerns all of us, and Palestinian suffering is our suffering.

We will continue our efforts to unite the Arab discourse, so that the Arabs' voice will be strong and resonant with the Arab people's aspiration to join ranks and strengthen the Arab front.

Dear brothers and sisters,

Since the beginning, we have warned about the danger of sectarian conflict and sedition, and about the violence and terrorism that threaten

to destroy our present and future by turning this region into an arena for interference and struggle between regional and international powers, who have their own agendas in this region.

Accordingly, we have worked, and continue to work, to enhance and entrench the principles of moderation, tolerance, understanding and coexistence. These are the principles that befit a nation that is best among others and represent Islam's tolerant message.

We will continue to confront sectarian strife, fanaticism and extremism, so that we will not give the nation's enemies the chance to distort is doctrine, culture, history and future.

As for our brothers in Iraq… we witness everyday, scores, or maybe hundreds, of them becoming victims of violence, terrorism and discord. We have stood by all the Iraqi people, and will continue to do so. And we will do all that we can to alleviate their suffering, help rebuild the state's institutions, and restore security and stability to this country and this brotherly people who are dear to all of us.

Dear brothers and sisters,

On this day… on Independence Day we all express our heartfelt congratulations, and salute with pride the homeland's chivalrous men and women, in the Arab Army and security institutions, because they are the symbols of independence and sovereignty; and because they are the watchful eyes over this homeland's security and stability, and the shield that protects its march and achievements. I personally convey a comrade-in-arms greeting to every soldier, every officer and every noncommissioned officer, in every trench and in every camp, who is performing the duty of the homeland, and that of honor and bravery, on the soil of this dear homeland.

As for youth, in whom I have great confidence, and for whom I have the highest hopes, I say on this day: you are creating the future, you are the knights of change. Enhancing independence and building the future of which this homeland and its sacrifices are worthy is your duty, and you are the ones who are most able to fulfill this duty. All of us have faith in you, and we look forward to the day when we see you as distinguished leaders in all spheres of life, where you will contribute to decision-making, and implementation of these decisions on the ground.

My hope is that youth will have an effective role in the upcoming

elections; a role that reflects their awareness in choosing those who represent their aspirations and their vision of the future.
Finally, my brothers and sisters, children of the unified Jordanian family… the generous and gracious Jordanian people… to you I convey my best wishes on this great occasion… many happy returns of the day to all of you… and for our dear beloved Jordan.

Peace, God's mercy and blessings be upon you.

## Appendix (IV)

## International speeches used in the study

Date: Wednesday, 12-Dec-2007
Location: The European Parliament
City: Strasbourg
Country: France

Speech by His Majesty King Abdullah II to the European Parliament

Bismillah ar-Rahman ar-Rahim,

Mr. President,
Members of Parliament,
Ladies and Gentlemen:

Thank you for your warm welcome. On behalf of the people of Jordan, I am honored to come before this distinguished institution again.

My friends,
A changing Europe and a changing Middle East are here today.

A Europe of expanding membership and a visionary mission: for cooperation across borders and growth without barriers. A Middle East of new horizons and growing hope: for peace among neighbors, opportunities for its people and a future for our youth. These trends do not take place in isolation. The hopes our regions achieve will advance stability and create new possibilities for security and prosperity worldwide. It is deeply in our interest to succeed. And a critical opportunity is before us.
Two weeks ago, with the support of the European Union and nations from both our regions, Israelis and Palestinians met at Annapolis. They pledged all-out negotiations toward a peace treaty in 2008 and immediate steps to implement their obligations under the Road Map. For the first time in years, we see movement toward a permanent settlement and an independent, sovereign, viable Palestinian state.

This progress is the work of many friends of peace, including leaders in Europe and the Arab states. We believed that, after years of worsening crisis, a change of strategy was required. We urged a new commitment to the two-state goal and a targeted process that could achieve it - with

tight timelines, measurable requirements and milestones for action.

Second chances are rare, but I believe we have come to one. Very real challenges lie ahead, but Annapolis has created a new spark of hope. We can and must fan that spark into a blaze of confidence, action and tangible results.

As our near neighbor, Europe shares our interest in solving this, the central crisis of our age. All sides respect Europe's neutral role and model of regional progress and peace. For years you have been our partner in the search for solutions. And you will be our partner, too, in the benefits of success: a vibrant zone of peace and prosperity throughout our shared hemisphere.

These realities give Europe an important and prominent role in the future of peace. I speak especially of the European Union, and you, the voices of Europe, here in the European Parliament. And I have come here today to urge your active engagement, to seek your specific, practical skills and investment in the future, and to offer Jordan's own commitment in the days of work that lie ahead.

My friends, There are major areas where action must begin now.

The first is support for the negotiations and their goal: a final settlement, creating an end to conflict, security for both Palestine and Israel, and at long last, a sovereign, independent and viable Palestinian state.

We must not underestimate the difficult days ahead. The issues are complex and decades-old. Real grievances must be faced - and left behind. On the positive side, Israelis and Palestinians understand their deep, shared stake in ending the conflict. And a great amount of work has already been done. From Oslo, through the Road Map, through the Geneva Accords, and other initiatives - the parameters of the solutions are in focus. I believe the parties can get to the endgame.

But for this to happen, it is vital that the international community be engaged. Europe has a unique experience with the mechanisms and process of post-conflict recovery and reconciliation. This includes creating a security framework that can offer assurance to both sides. European peacekeeping forces have played a constructive role in Lebanon. Your commitment can help bring great trust to a Palestinian-Israeli settlement.

On the ground, there is a need, not only for resources, but for partnership - to boost economic opportunities, create confidence that the political process works, and help create the conditions that will sustain peace. Both Palestinians and Israelis need to see tangible results, and quickly. That means security from violence and an end to occupation; but it also means better conditions of life. In the occupied territories, the humanitarian situation for Palestinians remains dire. People need access to jobs and education, effective public services and more. Such action will provide a major infusion of hope - and be a powerful counter-argument to extremist predictions that nothing can change.

Next week, donor nations and institutions will meet in Paris to make commitments and plan the way forward. European nations and the European Union are already providing help, a commitment respected by people throughout the region.

A second and related imperative is to understand and articulate the potential of peace. We must begin now to re-envision the future: a region where conflict has given way to cooperation, where a regional economy brings together the capabilities and resources of 22 countries - more than 300 million people, from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean - and where cross-border partnerships advance development, health, the environment and more. It is a future that empowers people to be full participants in global progress. And it will unleash a new scope for partnership with our European neighbors, in science, technology and trade.

This promising future is why we must move swiftly on a comprehensive settlement, with action on the Syrian and Lebanese tracks. Indeed, the entire Arab world has recognized the importance of moving forward. The Arab Peace Initiative was affirmed, unanimously, last spring. And it has received the support of Muslim countries beyond the region. The opportunity is here, at long last, for a sovereign, independent, and viable Palestinian state, and full, normal relations between Israel and 57 Arab and Muslim nations. This means acceptance; acceptance by key countries, with billions of citizens, representing almost a third of the membership of the United Nations. And that opens a shared future of security, peace and new partnerships.

Achieving such a peace will also make a substantial impact on other issues. Within the region, it will create new strategic space, allowing the resolution of other serious issues, from poverty to proliferation. Aggressive forces will no longer be able to exploit the Palestinian cause to serve their own ambitions and interests. Resources and attention will

be freed to advance the region's potential through development and reform.

We in Jordan are ready to meet that future. We have pressed forward with our reform program, despite regional instability. In the last decade, we have achieved significant gains: strong economic growth, rising per-capita incomes, and a model educational system. And Europe has been an important partner, through private-sector investments, as well as official assistance. Allow me to say, we deeply appreciate the support and friendship of this Parliament and the European Union. And we believe that in the days after peace, our partnership can only soar higher.

My friends,
Today, we can think of a larger neighborhood, one that stretches from north of the Baltic Sea to south of the Mediterranean, one that is shared by Europe and the Middle East. It is the basis of the Euro-Med Partnership, our region-to-region platform for cooperation and development. It is a relationship with great shared interests and unlimited potential. And it is up to us to develop our partnership to its fullest.

Today, young Europeans are coming to adulthood, who never knew a divided Europe. Their young counterparts, Palestinian and Israeli, have no such positive experience; they have grown up in a world of division and conflict. Now, together, we have an opportunity to remove the barriers to their future, and leave the past behind.

Today, the European Parliament has significantly more member countries than when I spoke before Parliament only five years ago. That's the result of a region-wide commitment to grow the zone of partnership and progress. The Middle East is tackling the same important task. Now, together, we can help that work succeed.

Today, a renewed peace process has begun. We have seen such beginnings fail in the past. But this time, a unique confluence of events has created new openings for success. Now, together, we can, we must, fulfill the promise of peace.

Friends,
We in Jordan know that when an olive tree takes life, planting is only the first step. A hundred processes then go active to create the cells and structures of life. Roots emerge, growth occurs, and a core of strength ensures survival. From outside comes water and support to sustain life

and create new fruit.

In the arena of the Middle East, a new olive branch has just been planted. Now the real work must begin. It is in our hands to create the process and structures that will give peace roots, help it grow, and sustain it into the future.

I urge you to share in this effort. Our partnership can create an historic transformation, and a rich harvest - years of peace and prosperity, that will benefit our peoples and our world.

Thank you very much.

Date: Tuesday, 13-Nov-2007
Location: The 7th German Foreign Trade Congress 2007
City: Bremen
Country: Germany

Remarks by His Majesty King Abdullah II at the 7th German Foreign Trade Congress 2007

Bismillah ar-Rahman ar-Rahim;

Excellencies,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Thank you. I am pleased to be with you in Bremen today, and it's a pleasure to be back in Germany to meet friends, old and new. I speak for all Jordanians, when I say that your country is one of our most valued friends - a voice of leadership for our neighbours in Europe ... and our partner in global business and diplomacy.

Vital to that partnership - indeed, vital to the outlook for our regions as a whole - are the trade issues and interests that this Congress is here to discuss. So I feel greatly honoured to be invited to be with you, and to help to open this important event.

My friends,

We meet at a time when global distance is shrinking rapidly - but the global future is expanding. Never before have there been greater opportunities for progress. Never has the global economy been able to give hope to so many people.

The private sector is central to today's advances and hopes. Not just large corporations, but small- and medium-size businesses, and visionary entrepreneurs, have driven global growth. By opening new markets; by innovating and thinking ahead; by building opportunity - you have re-shaped the future for billions of people.

This wealth-creating flow of trade and investment is critical to emerging economies - especially to economies seeking sustainable progress. But trade and investment is an equal concern for the continued prosperity of the advanced economies as well. Our challenge today is to understand that nexus, and together, seize the opportunities before us.

In this room are many of the people who make the global economy go - who make the decisions where, when and how to trade and invest and partner across borders. And many of you know first-hand what the experts confirm: doing business in emerging economies benefits both sides.

For foreign companies that enter emerging markets, there are valuable connections: to in-country markets and regional trading networks; to a competitive workforce; to important knowledge about regional cultures and customers. Such businesses find significant trade and investment opportunities - especially in economies like Jordan's, which are on a path of modernization and growth ... and which are regional gateways

... in our case, to the 300-million people of the Arab World. On a strategic level, building business in emerging markets helps create a counter-balance against market shifts and slowdowns elsewhere. And that contributes to the global economic vitality and stability that we all seek.

For the emerging economies, private-sector-led growth is, quite simply, the engine of sustainable development. It expands markets, promotes the transfer of knowledge and technology, and increases opportunities. It also requires sound fiscal and monetary policies, hard decisions and long-term commitment to structural reform, the rule of law, and much more.

In fact, experience has shown that the same economic activity that puts developing countries on the ladder to prosperity ... also helps keep them from falling back. Securing our gains is a principal goal of the G-11. Ours is a group of eleven lower-middle-income countries - from Latin America, to Eastern Europe, to the Middle East and Asia - with a proven commitment to reform and growth-based development. We've achieved results and we are poised to move ahead and stabilize at higher income levels. I believe this success will send an important signal to all developing nations that a commitment to reform and global cooperation is the right direction to go.

Leading nations have both a strategic interest in our success, and an ability to help. That means getting beyond old assistance models, to put the focus where it does the most good: keeping the doors open to progress and growth. We've asked the G-8 industrial nations for close cooperation, on shared interests such as market access, development partnerships, and investment. Germany, as the rotating G-8 president, has welcomed that dialogue. Tomorrow, I shall join Chancellor Merkel at the first summit meeting of our two groups. One major focus will be finding mechanisms to encourage private-sector-led growth. And I am confident that the G-11 - G-8 partnership will grow, to the benefit of both.

My friends,

Nowhere is the role of private-sector trade and investment more important than in the Middle East. My region is a well-spring of resources and capabilities that the world needs - and a strategic centre of cultures. But there are major economic challenges to be faced. Regional conflicts have delayed and destroyed the futures of millions, and diverted resources and attention from development. There are unacceptable levels of unemployment and hardship, fuelling frustration. I am especially concerned on behalf of the region's growing youth population - young men and women of talent and potential, who expect and deserve the opportunity to build positive, thriving futures.

Today, the Arab world recognizes the private sector's contributions to a better future. Leaders from the region - private sector, civil society, and public officials - have worked together to design innovative approaches to development. I am proud that Jordan has taken an active role.

Within the region, we have been a strong voice, not only for peace, but for the day after peace. We have encouraged private-public partnerships that can create an

economic framework of new opportunity and cross-border cooperation.

At home, we have not waited for external events to shape our future. We have made deep structural reforms - economic, political, social - to give people a better future, and allow them to become stakeholders in progress. We have built on Jordan's stability and security to make our country a regional and global gateway. Special economic zones, and our many free-trade agreements, allow Jordan-based businesses to find markets around the world.

These and other reforms have achieved results. But we cannot do it alone. Our international partners play a key role in progress. And it is necessary that this partnership continue, not just with Jordan but the entire region. The European-Mediterranean Partnership recognizes that bond, as well as the central role of the private sector in development. Germany, too, has given active and long-term support.

Two years ago we established the German-Jordanian University, a unique regional institution that focuses strongly on market-oriented and technical knowledge. It will form part of our joint approach as we go forward in our partnership to create new opportunities for sustainable development.

I hope you will join the dialogue on private-sector contributions to development. I hope you will seek, with us, new mechanisms for private-public partnerships. And I hope you will help develop the tremendous possibilities for increased trade and investment between our regions. Those of you who are not already working in the Middle East, I invite to come and discover its potential.

My friends,

It is in the power of the world's private sector to advance progress. You have the opportunity - to build a global economy that thrives, to build prosperity that lasts; to shape a new future, as you have shaped the past.

It is an opportunity we must seize. The partnership among us can change the lives of millions of people. Working together, we can succeed. Thank you very much.

Date: Wednesday, 07-Mar-2007
Location: U.S. Congress
City: Washington, D.C.
Country: U.S.A.

Address by His Majesty King Abdullah II to the Joint Meeting of Congress

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

Madam Speaker,
Mr. Vice President,
Honorable Senators and Members of Congress,

My friends,

Thank you for such a warm welcome. It is an honor to stand, as my father did, before this historic institution. Allow me to thank you, on behalf of all Jordanians.

Jordan and the United States have had a long friendship. It is a special privilege to be here in the year that the American Congress welcomes its first woman Speaker, and its first Muslim-American member of Congress. These milestones send a message around the world about the America I know so well, a place where individuality is nurtured, a place where hard work is rewarded, a place where achievement is celebrated. The America I know so well believes that opportunity and justice belong to all.

In my days in Massachusetts, I also learned something of New England virtues. There wasn't actually a law against talking too much, but there was definitely an attitude that you didn't speak unless you could improve on silence.

Today, I must speak; I cannot be silent.

I must speak about a cause that is urgent for your people and for mine. I must speak about peace in the Middle East. I must speak about peace replacing the division, war, and conflict that have brought such disaster for the region and for the world.

This was the cause that brought my father King Hussein here in 1994. With Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin beside him, he spoke of a new vision for the Middle East. Their courageous work for peace received bipartisan support from your leaders. And there was tremendous hope for a new era. There was tremendous hope that people would be brought together. There was tremendous hope that a final and comprehensive settlement of all the issues would be achieved.

Thirteen years later, that work is still not completed. And until it is, we are all at risk. We are all at risk of being victims of further violence resulting from ideologies of terror and hatred. It is our greatest and most urgent duty to prevent such dangers to our region, to your country and to the world. The choice is ours: an open world full of promise, progress and justice for all; or a closed world of divided peoples, fear, and unfulfilled dreams. Nothing impacts this choice more than the future of peace in the Middle East.

I come to you today at a rare, and indeed historic, moment of opportunity, when there is a new international will to end the catastrophe. And I believe that America, with its enduring values, its moral responsibility, and yes, its unprecedented power, must play the central role.

Some may say, ‘Peace is difficult, we can live with the status quo.' But, my friends, violent killings are taking place as part of this status quo. Palestinians and Israelis are not the only victims. We saw the violence ricochet into destruction in Lebanon last summer. And people around the world have been the victims of terrorists and extremists, who use the grievances of this conflict to legitimize and encourage acts of violence. Americans and Jordanians and others have suffered and survived terrorist attacks. In this room, there are representatives of American families and Jordanian families who have lost loved ones. Thousands of people have paid the highest price, the loss of their life. Thousands more continue to pay this terrible price, for their loved ones will never return. Are we going to let these thousands of lives be taken in vain? Has it become acceptable to lose that most basic of human rights? The right to live?

The status quo is also pulling the region and the world towards greater danger. As public confidence in the peace process has dropped, the cycle of crises is spinning faster, and with greater potential for destruction. Changing military doctrine and weaponry pose new dangers. Increasing numbers of external actors are intervening with their own strategic

agendas, raising new dangers of proliferation and crisis. These are groups that seek even more division: faith against faith, nation against nation, community against community. Any further erosion in the situation would be serious for the future of moderation and coexistence, in the region and beyond. Have we all lost the will to live together in peace celebrating one another's strengths and differences?

Some may say, ‘But there are other, urgent challenges.' How can there be anything more urgent than the restoration of a world where all people, not only some people, all people have the opportunity to live peacefully? This is not only a moral imperative, it is essential to the future of our world, because long-term, violent crisis is the enemy of all global prosperity and progress.

Certainly, our era faces critical issues. There is great public concern here, just as in our region, about the conflict in Iraq. The entire international community has vital decisions to make about the path forward, and how to ensure Iraq's security, unity, and future. But we cannot lose sight of a profound reality. The wellspring of regional division, the source of resentment and frustration far beyond, is the denial of justice and peace in Palestine.

There are those who say, ‘it’s not our business.' But this Congress knows: there are no bystanders in the 21st Century, there are no curious onlookers, there is no one who is not affected by the division and hatred that is present in our world.

Some will say: ‘this is not the core issue in the Middle East.' I come here today as your friend to tell you that this is the core issue. And this core issue is not only producing severe consequences for our region, it is producing severe consequences for our world.

The security of all nations and the stability of our global economy are directly affected by the Middle East conflict. Across oceans, the conflict has estranged societies that should be friends. I meet Muslims thousands of miles away who have a deep, personal response to the suffering of the Palestinian people. They want to know how it is, that ordinary Palestinians are still without rights and without a country. They ask whether the West really means what it says about equality and respect and universal justice.

Yes, my friends, today I must speak. I cannot be silent.

Sixty years of Palestinian dispossession, forty years under occupation, a stop-and-go peace process, all this has left a bitter legacy of disappointment and despair, on all sides. It is time to create a new and different legacy, one that begins right now; one that can set a positive tone for the American and Middle East relationship; one that can restore hope to our region's people, to your people, and to the people of this precious world. Nothing can achieve that more effectively, nothing can assert America's moral vision more clearly, nothing can reach and teach the world's youth more directly, than your leadership in a peace process that delivers results not next year, not in five years, but this year.

How do we get there? Not by a solution imposed by one side. A lasting peace can only be built on understanding, agreement and compromise.

It begins with courage and vision. We, all of us, must take risks for peace. The Arab states recognized that reality in 2002, when we unanimously approved the Arab Peace Initiative. It puts forward a path for both sides, to achieve what people want and need: a collective peace treaty with Israel and normal relations with every Arab state, collective security guarantees for all the countries of the region, including Israel, an end to the conflict, a dream every Israeli citizen has longed for since the creation of Israel, and an agreed solution to the refugee problem, a withdrawal from Arab territories occupied since 1967, and a sovereign, viable, and independent Palestine.

The commitment we made in the Arab Peace Initiative is real. And our states are involved in ongoing efforts to advance a fair, just, and comprehensive peace. His Majesty King Abdullah Bin Abdul Aziz of Saudi Arabia initiated the 2002 proposal; today, he continues to rally international support. Momentum is also building among Muslim countries outside the Arab world. Ten days ago, in Islamabad, the foreign ministers of key Muslim states met. They came together to assure Palestinians and Israelis that they are not alone, that we back their effort to make and build peace.

The goal must be a peace in which all sides gain. It must be anchored in security and opportunity for all.

It must be a peace that will free young Palestinians to focus on a future of progress and prosperity.

It must be a peace that makes Israel a part of the neighborhood, a neighborhood that extends from the shores of the Atlantic Ocean, across

the breadth of the southern Mediterranean, to the coast of the Indian Ocean.

It must be a peace that enables the entire region to look forward with excitement and hope, putting its resources into productive growth, partnering across borders to advance development, finding opportunities, and solving common challenges.

This goal is visionary, but my friends, it is attainable. History shows that longtime adversaries can define new relationships of peace and cooperation. The groundwork for a comprehensive, final settlement is already in place. At Taba, as in the Geneva Accords, the parties have outlined the parameters of the solution.

But we need all hands on deck. The international community, especially the United States, must be engaged in moving the process forward to achieve real results. Above all, we must make our process serve our purpose. We must achieve an agreed solution to the conflict.

Madam Speaker,
Mr. Vice President,
Honorable Members,

Your responsibility today is paramount. Your potential to help Palestinians and Israelis find peace is unrivalled. This is because the people of the region still regard the United States as the key to peace, the one country most capable of bringing the two sides closer together, holding them accountable, and making a just settlement reality.

Time after time, there has been progress towards peace when Americans have actively engaged. Camp David, Madrid, Wye River: nearly every breakthrough was accomplished when America was determined to help the parties succeed.

On behalf of all those who seek and strive for peace in my part of the world, I ask you now to exert that leadership once again. We ask you to join with us in an historic effort of courage and vision. We ask you to hear our call, to honor the spirit of King Hussein and Yitzhak Rabin, and help fulfill the aspirations of Palestinians and Israelis to live in peace today.

Let me reaffirm that Jordan is committed to playing a positive role in the peace process. It is part of our larger commitment to global co-existence

and progress. Ours is an Islamic country with a proud record of diversity, moderation, and shared respect.

Allow me to say, we thank the Congress and the Administration for supporting Jordan's progress and development. I deeply value the partnership between our peoples, and the contributions of so many Americans to the future of our country.

My friends,

“A decent respect for the rights and dignity of all nations, large and small.” That's how President Roosevelt - the great F.D.R. - described the basis of American foreign policy. He pledged American support for the four freedoms, freedom from fear, freedom from want, freedom of speech, and freedom of religion, everywhere in the world.

The Four Freedoms speech was given right here, before Congress. And that's entirely fitting. Because it is here in the People's House, that the voices and values of America have made hope real for so many people.

Today, the people of the Middle East are searching for these four freedoms. Today, the people of the Middle East are searching for new hope, hope for a future of prosperity and peace. We have seen the danger and destruction of violence, hatred, and injustice. But we have also seen what people can achieve when they are empowered, when they break down walls, when they commit to the future. And we know that Middle East peace can be a global beginning, creating new possibilities for our region and the entire world.

We look to you to play an historic role. Eleven American presidents and thirty American congresses have already faced this ongoing crisis. For not the future generation, but the generation alive today, let us say together: No more! Let us say together: Let's solve this! Let us say together: Yes, we will achieve this!

No Palestinian father should be helpless to feed his family and build a future for his sons and daughters. No Israeli mother should fear when her child boards a bus. Not one more generation should grow up thinking that violence and conflict are the norm.

As Roosevelt also said, “the justice of morality must and will win in the end.” But he knew that it was up to responsible nations to stand up for justice when injustice threatens.

This is our challenge as well. And we must not leave it to another generation to meet this challenge.

Thirteen years ago, my father was here to talk about his hopes for peace. Today, we are talking about a promise that is within our reach.

We can wait no longer and that is why I am here before you. We must work together to restore Palestine, a nation in despair and without hope. We must work together to restore peace, hope and opportunity to the Palestinian people. And in so doing, we will begin a process of building peace, not only throughout the region, but throughout the world. How much more bloodshed and how many more lives will it cost for this grave situation to be resolved?

I say: No more bloodshed and no more lives pointlessly taken!

The young boy, traveling to school with his brother in Palestine, let him have a life of peace.

The mother, watching with fear as her children board a bus in Israel, let her have a life of peace.

The father in Lebanon, working hard to provide an education for his children, let him have a life of peace.

The little girl, born in Iraq, with her wide eyes full of wonder, let her have a life of peace.

The family, together eating their evening meal, in Asia, Africa, North America, South America, Europe, Australia, and the Middle East, let them all have a life of peace.

Today my friends, we must speak; we cannot be silent.

The next time a Jordanian, a Palestinian, or an Israeli comes before you, let it be to say: Thank you for helping peace become a reality.

Thank you very much.

Date: Tuesday, 07-Nov-2006
Location: The Houses of Parliament
City: London
Country: United Kingdom

Remarks by His Majesty King Abdullah II in the Houses of Parliament

Bismillah ar-Rahman ar-Rahim;
My Lords, Members of the House,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am greatly honoured to be with you today, and thank you all for your warm welcome.
It has been almost exactly five years since I was last before you. We live in a time of extraordinary change and great danger.

Violence continues in Afghanistan and Iraq. Terrorists have hit London, Amman, Madrid, New York and other cities. The occupation and humanitarian crisis in Palestine is ongoing. Lebanon needs the international community's full support to rebuild and maintain its national unity.

We can work together for a world of law and progress - where our people live and thrive in safety. We must choose carefully and remember that we - and our children - have to live in the world that we create.

Nowhere are our choices more important than in the Middle East. My region plays multiple strategic roles in 21st Century security. It is the spiritual home of three historic religions - two of which, Christianity and Islam, make up more than half of the world's people. We are Europe's closest neighbours. Our people have lived together for thousands of years. Together, we nurtured most of what the world now views as civilization and science. Our region has long been a nexus of global trade, and is now, crucial for energy production.

Our region needs stability and peace, for our own sakes, and yours. Yet, in the Middle East, the frequency and intensity of crises are increasing at an alarming rate. This is occurring alongside other important changes in the regional environment that are opening the doors to extremists and expansionist regional actors.

Walking away from these challenges is not an option. Their impact extends to every corner of the world. We must confront these dangers; think in new ways about how peace and progress can be achieved - and act.

Let me speak first about the conflict in Iraq. The situation on the ground today is untenable. Persistent hostilities have delayed economic and political reconstruction. Sectarian violence and terrorism are driving the death toll higher. Both of our countries have also sacrificed greatly. I do not need to tell you how much Britain has given. Jordan has absorbed thousands escaping conflict. And, as you know, from Iraq, terror was exported to our capital one year ago.

Today, we should share the goal of restoring Iraq as a sovereign, secure, and unified nation … with a home-grown, democratic government that will respect the rights of all communities … and a reconstructed infrastructure and economy, that can offer people freedom and hope. Without these, we will not enjoy lasting stability.

We cannot attain that objective from a fragmented Iraq. Indeed, sectarian division is likely to bring worse violence, both in the near and in the long term. In a land weakened by division, the field would be open to extremists seeking influence in the Middle East and beyond. Such a situation would raise the potential for dangerous arms races and competition - threatening the region, its neighbours, and the world.

This means we cannot allow federalism to become a quick-fix solution to a complex problem. But we need renewed emphasis on non-military initiatives to help preserve Iraq's unity. Insecure areas cannot be stabilized by force. Such stability comes only when all groups have confidence in a process that gives them a voice, assures them justice, and provides for their security. We cannot afford to miss a single political, economic, or diplomatic opening.

An urgent priority is reconciliation, so that leaders from the three major communities can meet face to face, find common ground, and create home-grown, effective solutions. The historic suffering of Kurds and Shiites must be acknowledged; as must that of the Sunnis today. All Iraqis also need clear affirmation that the new Iraq will respect their rights and security.

Finally, Iraq needs creative thinking about political and economic incentives that give armed groups a reason to put down their arms and

move into the political process. Under the right conditions, some of them could be absorbed into key state institutions.

The international community can play a significant role in devising creative strategies towards the fulfillment of these goals. It is vital for the friends of peace not to abandon Iraq to chaos. We in the region are deeply committed to a sovereign Iraq, in charge of its own security and future. But for the world to disengage when events are at a critical point would have serious unintended consequences. It would discourage the thousands of Iraqis who face the daily risks in building a new Iraq.

If there is any doubt about the risk of turning a blind eye to conflict in Iraq, we need only consider the other major crisis in the region, the oldest active conflict on the U.N.'s books. This conflict has destroyed lives for three generations, fuelled global misunderstanding and division, and provided a recruiting tool for terrorists worldwide. I refer of course to the continuing denial of Palestinian rights, the core source of regional conflict.

Here again, the situation on the ground is at a critical stage. There has been no effective political process between Palestinians and Israelis for five years. The vision of the peace partners remains unfulfilled. In the absence of a genuine move towards peace, people in our region are questioning the validity of a peace process at all. Palestinian society is divided in an unprecedented manner. On both sides, we hear calls for a settlement by force.

But force is a recipe for failure. As in Iraq, if it continues unchecked, we can expect a situation that is far more radical and uncontrollable … and many more years of violence before the parties get back to the peace tables, if ever.

The situation is not hopeless. But we must act. The Arab states understand this well. In 2002, we announced a breakthrough peace proposal that offered a way to reach both sides with what they want and need. Today, we are more determined to support an effective process. My friends, this is an opening that must not be ignored.

Now we need measurable progress towards a clear objective: two secure states, at peace with each other and the region. The Arab Peace Initiative promises security guarantees for Israel … a sovereign, viable, and independent Palestine … and a process that would lead to a comprehensive settlement. It is the basis for practical results: a clear end

game and an effective process that can reach it. It is in full accord with international legality. It has the acceptance of all Arab states and the Palestinians. I ask the international community to join us in resolving this crisis once and for all.

My Lords, Honourable Members,
Great Britain has an important international leadership role. Your country has a special relationship with Jordanians, Palestinians, and other Arabs, as well as with Israel. You play a key role in the European Union and in trans-Atlantic relations. Your unique vantage point is a valuable asset that can be leveraged to bring about a meeting of minds. And your leadership is needed today as never before, to re-light our vision for the future. Our fates are inseparably tied. Our partnership is crucial.

In years past, I have gone to coalition partners, as an ally and a friend, to talk about the dangers of ignoring events in the Middle East. I urged friends not to accept the violent status-quo in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. I spoke frankly and on the record about the dangerous consequences of war in Iraq.

Now I come to speak again, about the dangers of failing to achieve peace in the Middle East - whether in Iraq or Palestine. As neighbours, as partners, for the sake of our people, for peace and coexistence, we must find another way, an effective way forward.

Thank you very much.

Date: Friday, 25-Feb-2005
Location: Hamburg town hall
City: Hamburg
Country: Germany
Remarks by His Majesty King Abdullah II at Matthiae-Mahlzeit Dinner banquet

Mayor von Beust,
Dr. Blobel,
Honored Guests -

Vielen Dank. And thank you all. It is an honour to be with you; an honour to share this wonderful tradition.

Tonight we celebrate your city's enduring freedoms. But when you open your doors to guests like myself, you celebrate something more; you celebrate Hamburg's historic role as a city of the world.

When this Feast was first held, back in medieval times, most people on earth never went farther than they could walk in a day. Yet Hamburg was already sending merchants and travelers to every corner of the globe. And Hamburg is still a center of international vision and business, admired around the world.

Let me say, your city's cosmopolitan spirit seems very familiar to me. From the earliest days, the Arab World also sent merchants and travelers and scholars around the world. The Prophet Muhammed, peace be upon Him, is said to have called merchants “couriers to the horizons.” And I believe that the more we work together; the more we reach out and communicate - by that much, we expand the horizons for all humanity.

Hamburg has indeed expanded human horizons. You have reached out to the world as true partners - indeed, as neighbours, as you did very recently, in all your help for tsunami victims.

So, again, thank you for allowing me to share this evening with you. I am delighted, as always, to be back in Germany. Fifteen years ago, your country helped bring about a peaceful transformation on this continent. And today, you have immense influence in another, global transformation: the creation of a new international system of cooperation and peace.

But my friends, we cannot celebrate tonight, without being aware that

there are groups which have a very different vision. Extremists, who thrive on conflict; who do not tolerate diversity; who seek power through division and destruction. The global system they hope to create is one of new walls and new isolation, and radically smaller horizons. It is an anti-democratic, anti-economic-growth, and anti-progress agenda.

There is only one defense, and that is to stand together. To keep the global gateways open. To enlarge the sphere of dialogue and cooperation. To bring the opportunities of the 21st Century to those who are alienated, who are vulnerable to extremist recruiting. And to use our utmost efforts to achieve peace in critical conflict zones.

No where is this more important than in my region, the Middle East. In Iraq, the success of recent elections must encourage voter participation to continue. The people need our help as they build security and democracy, and rebuild their historic country.

The Arab-Israeli conflict remains a central concern. I do not need to tell you about its damaging global impact. For the parties and the region, the occupation, violence and suffering have been a disaster.

My friends, there must be a new partnership for change. We know the path forward. It is outlined in the Roadmap process. For the Palestinians, a sovereign, viable state - offering dignity and a positive future. For Israel, security guarantees and an end to conflict. And a process that leads to a comprehensive settlement - one that addresses the Syrian and Lebanese tracks - bringing the entire region together, in a healing process of reconciliation.

This is the promise made by the Arab states at the Beirut Summit in 2002. It has been endorsed by the Quartet and the G-8. At Aqaba, Jordan, in 2003, it was agreed by the Palestinians and Israelis. Just a few weeks ago, I co-hosted the Sharm el-Sheikh Summit. At that meeting, Palestinian President Abbas and Israeli Prime Minister Sharon re committed to a partnership for peace.

The next step is not words, but deeds - hard work and the courage to make history. The friends of peace need our support. There will be an important opportunity at the London Conference next week. It will focus on assisting Palestinian efforts to strengthen democratic institutions and provide security. There will also be economic discussions, to bring together development resources, and give the Palestinians a new future of hope.

Indeed, hope is key to the future for our entire region. For too long, regional conflict has delayed development and reform. No more. Today, there is widespread agreement in the Arab World on the need to give people the opportunities they deserve.

Jordan has already made the commitment. For good governance, human rights, and gender equality. For innovation and partnership with the private sector. For an open, modern civil society rooted in true Arab-Islamic values: peace, tolerance, the rule of law, and the pursuit of excellence.

Our country has already made structural changes to build democratic political life at every level of society. In January, we instituted administrative reforms to increase regional self-government - a form of the federalism that has benefited Germany. We are also committed to creating world-class education and health care. As a result of these and other efforts, Jordan consistently ranks high in international measures of human development.

In this interconnected world, we cannot succeed alone. Jordan is determined to be a full participant in the global marketplace. We were honoured to be the first Mashrek country to sign an Association Agreement with the European Union. And we have worked to create a welcoming trade and investment climate. Allow me to say, we are tremendously grateful to our German friends and trading partners for their involvement and support.

Jordan's approach - its spirit; its effectiveness; its home-grown roots - can serve as a relevant model for the entire region. Indeed, our passion for results is shared by many. As some of you know, Jordan has been honoured to host the World Economic Forum at the Dead Sea. At the meeting this May, leaders from business and civil society throughout the Arab World will launch a new action plan, for sustainable, regional development and reform.

We do not seek leadership from our friends in the industrial nations. We seek partnership. And no country has shown its commitment to that partnership more than Germany. Your experience in overcoming the conflicts of centuries, in bridging divides and creating a new dialogue of nations has never been more relevant.
Today, together, we have the power to create an era of peace and progress that will benefit us all - East and West, North and South. After

all, we know what's required to succeed. We have the strategies, we have the knowledge, we have the economic tools. Now we need the commitment and the passion - to expand our horizons.
Let us not delay. If I may quote the great German poet, friend of mankind, Goethe:

“What makes us succeed? Decision with speed!”

Thank you very much.

**Appendix (V)**
**The National speeches used in the study in Arabic language.**

التاريخ: الخميس ، 24- آيار -2007

المكان: قصر زهران العامر

المدينة: عمان

الدولة: الأردن

**خطاب صاحب الجلالة الهاشمية الملك عبد الله الثاني بمناسبة عيد الاستقلال**

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الإخوة والأخوات الأعزاء،

أهلا ومرحبا بكم، وكل عام وأنتم والوطن بألف خير.

في هذا اليوم المبارك أتوجه بتحية الفخر والاعتزاز وبالتهنئة والمباركة بهذه المناسبة العزيزة والغالية إلى كل مواطن ومواطنة من الأسرة الأردنية الواحدة الكبيرة، ومن أبناء وأحفاد الرجال المخلصين، الذين بدأوا مسيرة هذا الوطن وقدموا أكبر التضحيات من أجل الاستقلال، وتحقيق الإنجازات الكبيرة، التي شكلت الأساس القوي لبناء الأردن الشامخ، الأردن الذي تجسدت فيه مبادئ ورسالة الثورة العربية الكبرى، التي قادها وضحى في سبيلها بكل ما يملك وبكل ما يستطيع أبو الثوار وأبو الأحرار الشريف الهاشمي الحسين بن علي طيب الله ثراه. ومـــن الوفاء لهؤلاء الرجال الثبات على المبادئ والمواقف والرسالة التي ضحّوا في سبيلها.

وأفضل طريقة للاحتفال بالاستقلال، هي أن نبني على ما بناه الآباء والأجداد، وأن نحقق المزيد من الإنجازات، وأن نستمر برؤيتنا الواضحة، نحو الأردن القوي المنيع المزدهر، الأردن الذي ينعم فيه أبناؤنا وأحفادنا، بالحرية والأمن

والعيش الكريم. إن المساهمة في هذه المسيرة، وتحقيق رؤيتنا لأردن المستقبل، هي واجب على كل أبناء وبنات هذا الوطن، كل واحـــد من موقعه، فالجميع شركاء في هذه المسيرة، وشركاء في مجتمع العدالة والمساواة وتكافؤ الفرص، ونحن كلنا الأردن وكلنا للأردن.

في الشأن الداخلي، ما زلنا - أيها الإخوة - عند الوعد الذي قطعناه على أنفسنا، وهو تحقيق التنمية الشاملة، ونحن والحمد لله نمضي قـــدما وبخطى واثقة، نحو تحقيق فرص الحياة الكريمة للشباب الأردني، وبناء اقتصاد قوي يعتمد على مواردنا البشرية، التي نعمل على تأهيلها وتدريبها. ورؤيتنا في التعليم والتأهيل واضحة كل الوضوح، وبالرغم من كل التحديات والمعيقات، فالإنجاز والحمد لله يتحقق في كل المجالات. وبهمة الأردنيين وعزيمتهم، وبالعمل الجاد المخلص، سنحقق كل طموحاتنا بإذن الله. صحيح أن مواردنا الطبيعية محدودة، والظروف الإقليمية من حولنا يمكن أن تؤثر على أوضـــاعنا، لكن لا نريد أن تكون هذه الظروف، سببا للتردد أو التراجع، ولا مبررا للتراخي أو التقصير لا سمح الله.

أما مسيرتنا الديمقراطية، فنحن حريصون كل الحرص على ترسيخها وتعميقها، وتفعيل دور مؤسسات المجتمع المدني، واحترام مبدأ التعددية، في إطار الوحدة الوطنية، التي يجب أن تبقى فوق كل الاختلافات. فالتعددية والتنوع هي روافد تثري المسيرة، وتمكّن المواطن من حرية الاختيار والتعبير.
على أي حال، أمامنا الانتخابات البلدية في هذا الصيف، ومن بعد ذلك الانتخابات النيابية، وهذا كما قـــلت في السابق، تأكيد على التزامنا بأحكام الدستور، وحرصنا على تمكين المواطن من المشاركة في صنع القرار. وهنا اسمحوا لي بالتأكيد مرة أخرى، على أن العمل العام مسؤولية وتكليف، وليس وجاهه أو تشريف، كما أن العمل العام يحتاج إلى المعرفة والخبرة والتضحية بالمصالح الشخصية، من أجل المصلحة الوطنية أو العامة. وبهذا المعنى ستكون الانتخابات القادمة فرصة لكل مواطن في هذا البلد، للتعبير عن المفهوم الحقيقي للمواطنة

والانتماء، سواء عندما يرشح المواطن نفسه، أو عندما ينتخب من يمثله في البلدية أو في مجلس النواب.

من حق الوطن على كل مواطن، أن يقوم بواجبه في ممارسة حقه في التصويت والانتخاب. والصوت الانتخابي أمانه، ويجب أن نؤدي الأمانة إلى من يستحقها من الأشخاص المشهود لهم بالأمانة والكفاءة والانتماء. ولا نريد أحدا أن ينخدع بالشعارات البراقة، ولا بالوعود التي ليس لها أول وليس لها أخر. مهمة النائب - أيها الإخوة - هي الرقابة والتشريع، والنائب هو نائب للوطن كله، وليس لمنطقه أو عشيرة أو حزب. ومن صميم عمل النائب في الرقابة، محاربة الواسطة والمحسوبية، وليس ممارستها أو السكوت عليها. ونحن بحاجة لمجلس نواب يستوعب رؤيتنا للمرحلة القادمة، وحاجتنا للتشريعات الضرورية لهذه المرحلة.

الإخوة والأخوات الأعزاء،

منذ اليوم الأول لبداية الصراع العربي الإسرائيلي، كان الأردن الرديف والسند والداعم للأشقاء الفلسطينيين، وقد دفع الأردن ثمن هذا الموقف طيلة العقود الماضية، وتحمّل في سبيل القضية الفلسطينية، ما هو فوق طاقاته وإمكانياته. وكان الشريف الحسين بن علي، أول من دفع ثمن موقفه، للدفاع عن عروبة فلسطين، ورفضه للمساومة أو التفريط بأي حق من حقوق الأمة العربية. وبعده دفع الجد المؤسس حياته ثمنا لهذا الموقف. أما الوالد رحمه الله، فالبعيد والقريب يعرف كم تحمّل وكم عانى في سبيل هذه القضية. والشعب الأردني كله، وبغض النظر عن المنابت والأصول، تحمّل وعانى، وقدم أكبر التضحيات، للدفاع عن القضية الفلسطينية. وكلنا يعرف، أنه لا يوجد مدينه أو قرية أو عشيرة أردنيه، إلا وكان منها جندي أو ضابط استشهد أو جرح أو قاتل بشرف وشجاعة، للدفاع عن فلسطين. ومن لم يقاتل منهم في ساحة المعركة، تحمّل النتائج والآثار المدمرة للحروب، التي قاتلنا فيها للدفاع عن فلسطين، ودفع ثمن هذه الحروب من تعبه

ومعاناته وخبز أطفاله.

وبالرغم من كل هذه التضحيات، كان الأردن والأردنيون والملوك الهاشميون، يتعرضون للاتهامات الظالمة، والتشكيك في دورهم، وإنكار تضحياتهم وتخوينهم في بعض الأحيان. واليوم، وبعد كل هذه السنين الطويلة، أثبتت الأحداث والتاريخ، أصالة الموقف الأردني، وبدأ العالم والأشقاء العرب يعترفون بهذا الدور المشرّف، والتضحيات الكبيرة التي قدمها الأردن: الشعب والقيادة على حد سواء. ونحن لا نقول هذا الكلام، للدفاع عن مواقفنا، ولا من أجل المزايدة على مواقف الآخرين كما يفعل غيرنا، ولا نريد أن نحمّل الجميل لأحد، لأن هذا واجبنا، ولا نريد من أحد أن يشكرنا عليه. نحن نقول هذا الكلام، وفي عيد الاستقلال، حتى يتذكر المواطن الأردني دائما أن هذا البلد لم يقصر أبدا، لا تجاه الأمة العربية، ولا تجاه القضية الفلسطينية، وإنه من حق المواطن أن يرفع رأسه، وأن يبقى رأسه دائما مرفوعا.

واليوم نؤكد من جديد، على أن الأردن سيستمر في الدفاع عن الحق العربي في فلسطين، حتى يستعيد الشعب الفلسطيني، كامل حقوقه ويقيم دولته المستقلة على أرضه، وينعم فيها بالحرية والاستقلال والحياة الكريمة. وسيواصل الأردن تحركه السياسي، واستخدام كل المنابر في شتى أنحاء العالم، للدعوة لتحقيق السلام الدائم والشامل، الذي يضمن الحقوق، ويصون الكرامة لأصحابها.

على أي حال، الآن هناك تعاطف دولي، وإرادة سياسية عربيه، لتسوية هذه القضية تسوية عادله، تقوم على حل الدولتين، وهناك المبادرة العربية التي أجمع عليها العرب في قمة بيروت عام 2002، وأكدت عليها قمة الرياض، هذه المبادرة التي تستند إلى قرارات الشرعية الدولية، ولم تفرط بأي من الحقوق العربية، وهذه فرصه حقيقية، لاسترجاع الحقوق الفلسطينية والعربية، وإقامة الدولة الفلسطينية المستقلة. لذلك، لا بد من اغتنام هذه الفرصة، والاستفادة من تعاطف العالم مع معاناة الشعب الفلسطيني، وقناعته بضرورة وضع حد لهذه المعاناة، وترحيبه بالمبادرة العربية للسلام، قبل فوات الأوان، وضياع هذه

الفرصة التاريخية، مثل الفرص التي ضاعت في السابق. وعلى هذا الأساس، سنستمر في دعم هذه المبادرة والترويج لها، في كل أوساط المجتمع الدولي والرأي العام الإسرائيلي.

ونحن عندما نتحدث عن القضية الفلسطينية، وندعو العالم إلى الالتزام برفع الظلم عن الشعب الفلسطيني، والضغط على إسرائيل، للقبول بهذه المبادرة، فنحن لا نتحدث بالنيابة عن الفلسطينيين، ولسنا بديلا عنهم، ولا أوصياء عليهم، وليس لنا أي هدف، إلا مساعدتهم على استرجاع حقوقهم، وإقامة دولتهم المستقلة على أرضهم وترابهم الفلسطيني. وكما قلت، هذا واجب علينا وعلى كل العرب والمسلمين، فالقضية الفلسطينية هي قضيتنا جميعا، ومعاناة الفلسطينيين هي معاناتنا، وسوف نستمر في جهودنا، لتوحيد كلـــمة العرب، حتى تكون قوية ومسموعة، ومعبرة عن تطلعات الشعوب العربية وآمالها بتوحيد الصف، وتمتين الجبهة العربية.

الإخوة والأخوات الأعزاء،

منذ البداية، حذرنا من خطورة الصراعات والفتن الطائفية والمذهبية، والعنف والإرهاب، الذي يهدد بتدمير حاضر هذه المنطقة ومستقبلها، وتحويلها إلى ساحة مفتوحة للتدخل والصراع، بين القوى الإقليمية أو الدولية، التي لها أجندات في هذه المنطقة. وعلى هذا الأساس، عملنا وسنستمر في العمل، من أجل ترسيخ قواعد الاعتدال والتسامح والتفاهم والتعايش، التي تمثل رسالة الإسلام السمحة، والتي تجعل منا ( خير أمة أخرجت للناس ). وسوف نستمر أيضا في التصدي للفتن الطائفية والتعصب والتطرف، حتى لا نعطي لأعداء هذه الأمة، الفرصة للعبث بعقيدتها وثقافتها، وتاريخها ومستقبلها. إخواننا في العراق، كل يوم يذهب منهم العشرات وربما المئات ضحايا للعنف والإرهاب والفتنة، ونحن وقفنا وسوف نستمر في الوقوف، إلى جانب الشعب العراقي بكل مكوناته، وبكل ما

نستطيع، للتخفيف من معاناته، والمساعدة على إعادة بناء مؤسسات الدولة، وإعادة الأمن والاستقرار لهذا البلد، والشعب الشقيق والعزيز علينا جميعا.

الإخوة والأخوات الأعزاء،

في هذا اليوم، في عيد الاستقلال، نتوجه كلنا بالتهنئة الحارة، وبتحية الفخر والاعتزاز، لفرسان الوطن النشامى والنشميات، في الجيش العربي والأجهزة الأمنية، لأنهم رمز الاستقلال ورمز السيادة، ولأنهم العيون الساهرة، على أمن واستقرار هذا الوطن، وحماية مسيرته وإنجازاته. ومني شخصيا تحية لرفاق السلاح، لكل جـــندي وكل ضابط وضابط صف، في كل خندق، وفي كل معسكر، يؤدي واجب الوطن والشرف والرجولة، على تراب هذا الوطن العزيز.

أما الشباب، فثقتي بهم كبيرة وأملي بهم ليس له حدود، وأقول لهم في هذا اليوم، أنتم صناع المستقبل، وأنتم فرسان التغيير، وإن تعزيز الاستقلال، وبناء المستقبل، الذي يليق بهذا الوطن وتضحياته، هو واجبكم، وأنتم الأقدر على النهوض بهذا الواجب، ونحن جميعا نعقد عليكم الآمال، ونتطلع إلى اليوم الذي نراكم فيه، قيادات متميزة، في كل مجالات الحياة، وفي المواقع المتقدمة، التي تساهمون من خلالها في صنع القرار وتنفيذه على أرض الواقع. وأتمنى على الشباب أن يكون لهم دور فعّال ومؤثر، في الانتخابات القادمة، دور يعكس وعيهم وثقافتهم، في اختيار من يمثل تطلعاتهم ورؤيتهم للمستقبل.

وأخيرا إخواني وأخواتي أبناء الأسرة الأردنية الواحدة، الشعب الأردني الخيّر المعطاء، أتوجه إليكم جميعا بأطيب التهاني بهذه المناسبة العظيمة، وكل عام وأنتم جميعا والأردن العزيز الغالي بألف خير .

والسلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته.

التاريخ: الاثنين ، 04- تموز -2005
المكان:
المدينة: عمان
الدولة: الأردن

**الخطاب السامي لصاحب الجلالة الهاشمية الملك عبدالله الثاني ابن الحسين المعظم في افتتاح اعمال المؤتمر الاسلامي الدولي**

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

والحمْد لله رب العالمين، والصّلاة والسّلام على سيدنا محمّد، وعلى آله وصحبه أجمعين.

أيّها الإخوة العلماء الأفاضل،
أيّها الإخوة الحضور الكرام،

السّلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته، وبعد،

فإنّه ليسرّني غاية السّرور أنْ أرحب بكم أجمل التّرحيب، وأنتم تجتمعون اليوم في عمّان، للبحث في مختلف القضايا والتّحديات التي تواجه الأمّة الإسلاميّة. فأهلاً ومرحباً بكم ضيوفاً وعلماء لهم كلّ الاحترام والتّقدير.

أيّها الإخوة الأعزّاءْ،

لقد أرسى الإسلام عبر العصور أحسن القواعد للعلاقات الإنسانيّة بين الأفراد

والأمم والشّعوب، بغض النّظر عن الاختلاف في العقيدة أو اللّون أو الجنس، على قاعدة من التّسامح والحوار مع الآخرين، لما فيه الخير للإنسان في كل مكان وفي كل زمان. لكنّ المشكلة اليوم هي ما تتعرّض له الأمّة الإسلاميّة من حملات التّشويه والإساءة والتّجني على الدّور الذي يمكن أنْ تنهض به هذه الأمّة في هذا العصر.

وبداية، دعونا نعترف بأنّنا نحن المسلمين قد قصّرنا في حق ديننا وفي حق أنفسنا. وقد أسهم بعض من المسلمين أو ممّن يرفعون شعارات إسلاميّة في تشويه صورة الإسلام والمسلمين، والإساءة إليهم، بقصد أو بغير قصد.

فالفرْقة بين أبناء الأمّة، وأعمال العنف والإرهاب التي تمارسها بعض الجماعات والمنظّمات، وما يجري في العراق والباكستان وغيرها من بلاد المسلمين من تبادل تُهم التّكفير وقتل المسلمين باسم الإسلام، كلّها أمور مخالفة لجوهر الإسلام، والإسلام منها بريء، وهذه فتنة وفساد في الأرض، لأنها تعطي المبررات لغير المسلمين للحكم على الإسلام من هذا المنظور، والتدخّل في شؤون المسلمين واستغلالهم.

وقد رأينا أنّ من واجبنا كمسلمين، عامرة قلوبنا بمحبّة الله ورسوله، أن نكون في طليعة من يتصدّون لهذه الحملات الظّالمة، التي يتعرّض لها الإسلام. وأنْ نكون في طليعة الدّاعين إلى نبْذ الخلاف بين المسلمين، وتوحيد كلمتهم وموقفهم. ومن هنا جاءت رسالة عمّان، التي أعلنّاها في شهر رمضان الفضيل في العام الماضي، من مسجد الهاشمييّن في عمّان.

ثمّ دعونا إلى عقد هذا المؤتمر، الذي يجتمع فيه ممثلون لأتباع المذاهب الإسلاميّة الثّمانية، من مختلف البلدان والأقطار، للبحث في العديد من القضايا والتّحديات التي تواجه الأمّة، ووضع الحلول الجذريّة لكل هذه التّحديات.

وأولى هذه القضايا وأهمّها، هي توحيد موقف أتباع المذاهب الإسلاميّة الثمانية: السّنيّة الأربعة، والجعفري والأباضي والزّيدي والظّاهريّ، على مبدأ اعتراف أتباع كل مذهب من هذه المذاهب بصحّة إسلام أتباع المذاهب الأخرى، وعدم جواز تكفير أي مسلم من أتباعها، فاختلاف العلماء رحمة، ولنقتدي بقول الإمام الشّافعي:

"مذهبنا صواب ويحتمل الخطأ، ومذهب خلافنا خطأ ويحتمل الصّواب".

وقد أفتى كبار علماء المسلمين ومراجعهم الموثوقة، وفتاواهم بين أيديكم، بصحّة هذا المبدأ وجوازه، لأنّ أتباع المذاهب الثّمانيّة متّفقون على المبادئ الأساسيّة للإسلام، فكلّهم يؤمنون بالله سبحانه وتعالى واحدا أحدا، وبأنّ القرآن الكريم كلام الله المنزّل، وبسيدنا محمّد عليه الصّلاة والسّلام نبيّاً ورسولاً للبشريّة كافة. وكلّهم متّفقون على أركان الإسلام الخمسة: (الشّهادتيْن والصّلاة والزّكاه وصوم رمضان وحج البيت). وعلى أركان الإيمان وهي الإيمان بالله وملائكته وكتبه ورسله واليوم الآخر وبالقدر خيره وشره.

أمّا الاختلاف فهو على بعض المسائل الفرعيّة، التي ظهرت بعد وفاة سيدنا محمّد عليه الصّلاة والسّلام، لأسباب تتعلّق بالخلافة، وبعض أمور الدّنيا والسياسة. وقد تضمّنت فتاوى كبار علماء الأمّة الإسلاميّة صحّة التعبّد بأي من المذاهب الإسلاميّة الثّمانية.

وأفتى شيخ الأزهر، بأنّ الفكْر الصّوفيّ المعتدل مقبول ما دام يستند إلى شهادة أنْ لا إله إلاّ الله، وأنّ محمّداً رسول الله، والتمسّك بأركان الإسلام الخمسة والقرآن الكريم. ذلك أنّ الاعتراف بالمذاهب، هو اعتراف بمنهجيّة الإفتاء، وتحديد من هو المؤهّل لهذه المهمّة. ممّا يؤدي إن شاء الله إلى عدم تكفير بعضنا بعضا، وإغلاق الباب أمام الجاهلين الذين يمارسون أعمال القتل والإرهاب باسم الإسلام،

والإسلام منها بريء.

أيّها الإخوة العلماء الأفاضل،

إنّكم تجتمعون اليوم، وعلى جدول أعمالكم العديد من القضايا والتّحديات التي تواجهها الأمّة الإسلاميّة. وأنتم بعون الله أهْل للتّصدي لهذه القضايا والتّحديات، وتحديد موقف الإسلام من كل واحدة منها. وإنّ من أهم واجباتنا كمسلمين، أنْ نقدم الإسلام بصورته الحقيقيّة المشرقة. فالإسلام دين الوسطيّة والاعتدال والتّسامح والرّحمة، ومحاورة الآخرين بالعقل والحجّة، وليس دين العنف والإرهاب، أو التّعصّب والانغلاق. يقول الله سبحانه وتعالى:
(أدْعُ إلى سبيل ربك بالحكمة والموعظة الحسنة وجادلهم بالتي هي أحسن إنّ ربّك هو أعلم بمنْ ضلّ عن سبيله وهو أعلم بالمهتدين) - (النّحل 125).

وقد قدّم الإسلام أحسن الأحكام في حماية حقوق الإنسان، وصون حريته وكرامته الإنسانيّة، بغض النّظر عن دينه أو جنسه أو لونه. يقول الله تعالى:
(يا أيّها النّاس إنّا خلقْناكمْ من ذكر وأنثى وجعلناكم شعوباً وقبائلَ لتعارفوا إنّ أكرمكم عند اللّه أتقاكم إنّ الله عليم خبير) - (الحجرات 13).

وأكّد على أهميّة احترام حقوق الأقليات وغير المسلمين، الذين يعيشون داخل المجتمع المسلم. ووضع لنا المنهج الواضح في احترام العلاقات، والوفاء بالعهود بين المسلمين وغيرهم من الأمم والشّعوب. يقول الله تعالى:
(وأوْفوا بالعهْد إنّ العهْد كان مسؤولا) - (الإسْراء 34).

وإنّ الإسلام الذي يرفض التّعصّب والانغلاق يدعونا إلى العلم والمعرفة. يقول الله تعالى:
(هلْ يستْوي الّذين يعلمون والّذين لا يعلمون) - (الزمر 9).

ويدعونا إلى الانفتاح على الآخرين، والاستفادة من تجاربهم وخبراتهم في شتّى ميادين الحياة. يقول الله تعالى:
(فاسْألوا أهل الذكْر إنْ كنتم لا تعلمون) - (النّحل 43).

أيّها الإخوة العلماء الأفاضل،

إنّني على ثقة تامّة بأنّكم مدركون لحجم التّحديات التي تواجه المسلمين اليوم، والهجمة الشّرسة التي يتعرّض لها الإسلام من خلال التّشويه والافتراء عليه، بسبب عدم فهم بعض المسلمين لجوهر دينهم، وجهل كثير من غير المسلمين بطبيعة هذا الدين وقيمه النّبيلة.
ومن هنا تأتي أهميّة دوركم ومسؤوليّتكم في توحيد الأمّة الإسلاميّة بكل مذاهبها، وتعريف الآخرين بحقيقة ديننا ورسالته العظيمة.
والله سبحانه وتعالى يوفقنا جميعا لخدمة ديننا وأمّتنا، وتوحيد صفوف المسلمين.
والسّلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته،

عمان، في 27 جمادي الاولى 1426 هجرية

الموافق 4 تموز 2005 ميلادية

التاريخ: الاحد ، 16- أيلول -2007
المكان: مركز الملك حسين للمؤتمرات
المدينة: البحر الميت
الدولة: الأردن

**كلمة صاحب الجلالة الملك عبدالله الثاني في المؤتمر السنوي الأوّل لشباب كلنا الأردن**

إخواني الشباب،

كل عام وأنتم بخير والله يعطيكم العافية،

إن هذا اللقاء هو تأكيد على التزامنا بدعم مبادرة شباب "كلّنا الأردن"، التي كان الهدف منها تمكين الشباب من المشاركة الفعلية في بناء الوطن.

وقد تابعت بمنتهى الاهتمام كل النشاطات والمبادرات التي قامت بها هيئة شباب "كلنا الأردن"، خاصة مبادرات دعم الإبداع والتميز الشبابي، والشراكة مع المجتمعات المحلية، وتوفير فرص التدريب للشباب في مختلف المحافظات، وإنشاء النوافذ التمويلية لدعم الإبداع والتميز والمشاريع الريادية.

واليوم، نشعر بالفخر والاعتزاز بالإنجازات التي حققتموها في مرحلة التأسيس، والتي وضعتم خلالها الإطار العام لعمل الهيئة وآليات التواصل مع الشباب، من أجل إطلاق العديد من المبادرات والأفكار، وتحويلها إلى منجزات عملية يلمس الشباب والمجتمع ثمارها على أرض الواقع.

ومن خلال ما شاهدت وسمعت من حوارات ونقاشات في إطار هذا المنتدى

الوطني تعززت قناعتي بأن الشباب الأردني غــنيّ بالقيادات الواعدة.

إخواني الشباب،

نريد منكم خلال الفترة القادمة الاستمرار بالعمل بنفس الجديّة والعزم الأردني الأصيل، وبالتركيز على دور الشباب في كل ميادين البناء والتطوير حتى يظل الأردن مثالاً في القدرة على التميز والإبداع وتحقــيق الإنجاز.

أما التحدي الأكبر الذي يقف أمامكم فـــي المرحلة القادمة، فهو مأسسة دور الشباب في العديد من المجالات، ومن أهمها بناء شراكه حقيقيّة مع المؤسسات السياسية - مثل الحكومة والبرلمان ومؤسسات المجتمع المدني - من أجل صقل مهارات الشباب، وإعداد قيادات فاعلة وقادرة على المبادرة وصناعة الحاضر والمستقبل، وفي هذا المجال قمتُ خلال المرحلة الماضية بإشراك الشباب في عدد من زياراتي للخارج وفي عدد من جولاتي الميدانية المحليّة، وهذه تجربة نريد تعميمها على أكبر عدد ممكن من الشباب.
ومن الناحية الاجتماعية، فلابدّ مـــن العمل على ترسيخ ثقافة العمل التطوعي لدى شبابنا من خلال تحديد (أيام للعمل التطوعي الشبابي) في المؤسسات الخدميّة التي تحتاج إلى الدعم والمساندة من أجل ترسيخ روح المبادرة والتطوع بين الشباب وتعزيز علاقتهم بمجتمعهم وتفاعلهم المباشر مع حاجاته ومشكلاته.
ومن أهم المهمّات أيضاً التواصل الدائم مع الشباب في كل المحافظات من أجل التوعية والتدريب والإرشاد في مجال الاختيارات المهنية، وذلك من خلال إيجاد قنوات مؤسسية للتواصل بين الشباب والقطاع الخاص لتوفير فرص العمل للشباب والشابات عبر مكاتب الإرشاد المهني في كافة الجامعات.
مرةً أخرى أيها الشباب، كل الشكر والتقدير على جهودكم الطيبة. ونرجو أن تنقلوا تحياتنا واعتزازنا لكل إخوانكم وأخواتكم في كل مكان من هذا الوطن.

ونريدكم أن تكونوا على ثقة بأن دعمنا للشباب بلا حدود وهـو من ثوابت نهجنا السياسي وقناعتنا بأهمية دور الشباب في بناء وطنهم ومستقبله.

وبارك الله فيكم،

والله يعطيكم العافية.

التاريخ: الخميس ، 27- تموز -2006
المكان: البحر الميت
المدينة: البحر الميت
الدولة: الأردن

**كلمة جلالة الملك عبدالله الثاني ابن الحسين المعظم في ختام ملتقى "كلنا الأردن"**

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الإخوة الأعزاء،

الله يعطيكم العافية،
إنني سعيد بالإنجاز الكبير، الذي تم خلال هذين اليومين، وفخور بروح الفريق الواحد، والشعور بالمسؤولية، التي سادت أجواء هذا الملتقى، والتي كانت، سببا أساسيا في نجاحه.
ومن البداية، كان الهدف من هذا الملتقى، تحقيق التوافق الوطني على الثوابت، والخروج برؤية شاملة واحدة، وتحديد المحاور، التي يجب أن يكون لها الأولوية، في التنفيذ، والاتفاق على الاستمرار، في العمل الجاد المخلص، لتحقيق هذه الرؤية والهدف، من خلال تنفيذ الأولويات، أولاً بأول.
وكما ترون الآن، فإن الأخطار والصراعات، التي حذرت من وقوعها، في كل لقاءاتي السابقة معكم، هي ماثلة أمامكم الآن، على أرض الواقع.
وأمام ما يحدث في هذه المنطقة، من صراعات طائفية وإقليمية، فلا بد من تمتين جبهتنا الداخلية، ويجب أن نكون كلنا، يدا واحدة، وقلبا واحدا، في مواجهة هذه الأخطار، التي حذرت منها قبل وقوعها، من خلال الحفاظ، على وحدتنا الوطنية، وجبهتنا الداخلية، التي هي اليوم على رأس أولوياتنا الوطنية، وأريد أن يعرف

الجميع، إن انشغالنا بقضايانا الوطنية، لن يكون على حساب التزامنا بمسؤولياتنا القومية والتاريخية، تجاه أشقاءنا في فلسطين ولبنان والعراق، وهذا استمرار طبيعي، لدورنا نحن الهاشميين، عبر التاريخ.

لقد عملت يا إخوان، منذ وقت بعيد، وما زلت أعمل، من أجل توحيد الموقف العربي، تجاه هذه التحديات والأخطار، التي تحيط بالأمة، من كل جانب، حتى لا يتم تهميش الدور العربي في المنطقة، وبالتالي الحد من قدرتنا جميعاً، على تقديم الدعم والمساندة، للأشقاء في فلسطين والعراق ولبنان. والآن أصبح لدينا تصورا واحدا، لما نريد تحقيقه خلال الفترة القادمة، في المجال السياسي والاقتصادي والاجتماعي.

ففي المجال السياسي، هناك اتفاق، على الحفاظ على الوحدة الوطنية، وتعزيز مفهوم الأردن المسلم المعتدل الوسطي، الذي يؤمن بالسلام، والتعايش والتسامح، والتعددية الفكرية والسياسية، والمشاركة في صنع القرار، وبناء مؤسسات المجتمع المدني، والأحزاب الوطنية القادرة على ترسيخ مفهوم الانتماء للوطن، والعمل والإنتاجية والكفاءة.

ويجب أن يعرف الجميع، يا إخوان، أن هدفنا واضح، وليس هناك خلاف عليه، لكن الاختلاف يمكن أن يكون على الآليات والوسائل.

أما في المجال الاقتصادي والاجتماعي، فهناك اتفاق وإجماع على تلبية طموحات شعبنا في الحياة الحرة الكريمة، وإيجاد الفرص أمام الشباب للعمل والإبداع والإنتاج.

والآن يأتي دور العمل والمتابعة والإنجاز.

في البداية، الإنجاز مطلوب من الحكومة، وأنا متأكد، أن الحكومة ستباشر في وضع مشاريع القوانين، والسياسات المختلفة، التي اتفقتم على أهميتها بهذا الملتقى، ضمن مفهوم الأولويات، وأنا متأكد أيضاً، أن مجلس الأمة، سيتحمل المسؤولية بكفاءة، في إنجاز مشاريع القوانين، التي ستقدمها الحكومة، خلال الدورة الاستثنائية القادمة.

أما المؤسسات الأخرى، كالأحزاب والنقابات والإعلام والقطاع الخاص، وسائر مؤسسات المجتمع المدني، فهي أيضاً، سوف تهتدي بهذا الإجماع الوطني، وستقوم بدورها في العمل والإنجاز.

وأريد أن أطمئنكم يا إخوان، أن هذه الروح في العمل، ستستمر في المستقبل، وأن الثوابت الوطنيـــة، التـــي تـــوافقتم عليهـــا، ســـتكون أســـاس عملنـــا جميعـــاً .

واستجابةً مني لرغبتكم، فقد قررت تشكيل هيئة كلنا الأردن، التي ستضم ممثلين عن أجهزة الدولة، ومؤسسات المجتمع المدني، وسوف تكون هيئه استشارية، لا يتعارض عملها أبداً، مع مؤسساتنا الدستورية، التي أنا أكثر واحد، حريص على حمايتها، وعلى حماية الدستور، وستعمل هذه ا لهيئة، على تقديم التقارير الدورية، حول سير العمل، وقياس الإنجاز.

وأتمنى على الإخوة النواب، بشكل خاص، باعتبارهم ممثلين لكل أبناء شعبنا، أن ينقلوا للناس الذين انتخبوهم، وأبناء مناطقهم، كل ما يجري هنا، وكل مـــا نقـــوم بعمله، سواء كان من أجل شعبنا ووطننا، أو من أ جل أمتنا، وأشـــقائنا العـــرب .

ومرة ثانيه يا إخوان، أنا فخور بما تم إنجـــازه، وتحقيقـــه فـــي هـــذا الملتقـــى، وبالإجماع الذي تحقق على مواجهة كل أشكال العنف والإرهاب، وعلى التمســـك بالإسلام الحقيقي، الذي يدعو إلى السلام والتسامح والرحمة، واحتـــرام إنســـانية الإنسان، وحقه في الحياة، والعيش بحرية وكرامة وأمان.

وبارك الله فيكم جميعاً، والله يعطيكم العافية، وإن شاء الله سنبقى على اتصال.

التاريخ: الخميس ، 10- تشرين ثاني -2005

المكان: عمان

المدينة: عمان

الدولة: الأردن

**كلمة جلالة الملك لشعبه الأردني**

في البداية اتوجه بالتعزية الحارة لأسر وأهالي الشهداء والضحايا الأبرياء وبالدعاء للمصابين والجرحى بالشفاء العاجل باذن الله.

وهذه ليست المرة الأولى التي يتعرض فيها الأردن إلى مثل هذه الأعمال الارهابية الجبانة، والأردن ليس البلد الوحيد الذي يتعرض لمثل هذه الأعمال فالكثير من دول المنطقة وكثير من بلدان العالم تعرضت لمثل هذه الأعمال الإرهابية وربما اكثر واكبر منها. ونحن نعرف ان الاردن مستهدف ربما أكثر من غيره لأسباب كثيرة منها دوره ورسالته في الدفاع عن جوهر الاسلام دين الاعتدال والتسامح ومحاربة الارهابيين الذين يقتلون الابرياء باسم الاسلام والاسلام منهم بريء.

ونؤكد هنا للجميع باننا سنلاحق هؤلاء المجرمين ومن يقف ورائهم وسنصل اليهم اينما كانوا ونخرجهم من جحورهم ونقدمهم للعدالة والاردن لا يخاف و لا يقبل الإبتزاز ولا يمكن لهذه الأعمال أن تدفعنا الى تغير مواقفنا أو قناعاتنا او التراجع عن دورنا بمحاربة الارهاب بكل اشكاله. وكل عمل اجرامي جبان يتعرض له الأردن سيزيدنا قوة على التمسك بمواقفنا وعلى التصدي بقوة لكل من يحاول العبث بأمن هذا البلد واستقراره. ثقتنا باجهزتنا الامنية وبقدرتها على حماية أمن هذا البلد واستقراره ثقة كبيرة جدا واذا نجح الارهابيون في تنفيذ عملية هنا وهناك، فقد احبطنا في السابق - والحمد لله - العديد من محاولات ومخططات الإرهابين التي استهدفت هذا البلد.

وارجو من كل مواطن وكل مواطنة في هذا البلد أن يعتبر نفسه جنديا ورجل أمن وان عليه مسؤولية في حماية بلده، لذلك مطلوب من الجميع المزيد من الحذر والإنتباه والتعاون بين المواطن والإجهزة الأمنية لإحباط اي محاولة للعبث بأمن هذا البلد او استقراره. وكلنا لازم نكون يد واحدة وقلب واحد في التصدي لهذه المجموعات الإرهابية الجبانة التي لا دين لها ولا ضمير.

وانا واثق ان النشامى والنشميات من ابناء هذا الوطن سيكونوا كما كانوا على الدوام العيون الساهرة على امن الاردن العزيز والذراع القوية والقادرة على حماية مسيرته ومنجزاته. وسيظل الاردن بعون الله وعزيمة ابنائه وبناته أقوى من كل عناصر الشر والإرهاب. وكل الشكر والتقدير والاعتزاز لكل الاجهزة الامنية والعسكرية والمدنية والمواطنيين الذين هبوا هبة رجل واحد لمواجهة اثار هذه التفجيرات التي تعرضت لها عمان العزيزة الغالية.

**معلومات شخصية عن الباحث**

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**التخصص: اللغويات التطبيقية.**

**السنة:2008**

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